

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1943

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# **MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY**

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## HEINE AND FRIEDRICH MERCKEL

By WALTER WADEPUHL

The name Friedrich Merckel is not mentioned in Goedeke's *Grundriß, the Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, or Brümmer's *Lexikon deutscher Dichter*, although the latter gives accounts of the lives of the most obscure writers. Likewise Heine's niece, the Principessa della Rocca,<sup>1</sup> and his brother Maximilian,<sup>2</sup> each of whom had known Merckel personally, disregard him in their biographies of the poet. This is significant, as Heine's other friends in Hamburg, Dr. David Assing, Julius Campe, August Gathy, Johann Peter Lyser, Freiherr Gotthilf August von Maltitz, and Professor Gottlieb Zimmermann are fully represented. Also Adolf Strodtmann and Heine's later biographers bring only casual references to Merckel; they do not attempt to give a connected account of the relationship between the two men.

The only available sources which furnish an insight into Merckel's life and his relationship to Heine are thirty-eight letters and notes from Heine to Merckel from 1826 to 1832 and casual references to Merckel in Heine's letters to Campe.<sup>3</sup> Merckel's letters to Heine were destroyed by fire in 1833 at the home of Heine's mother in Hamburg; this loss is especially regrettable as without them many allusions in Heine's own letters can no longer be definitely identified. Fortunately one letter from Merckel to Heine in Paris, dated September 13, 1832,<sup>4</sup> as well as a prose dedication and two poems<sup>5</sup> which Heine wrote for Merckel into copies of the first three volumes of the *Reisebilder* in 1826, 1827, and 1830 have been preserved. This hitherto unpublished material together with some references to Merckel in Campe's unpublished letters to Heine<sup>6</sup> will add a few modest but interesting facts about the relationship between Heine and Merckel, particularly about the influence Merckel exerted upon

<sup>1</sup> Maria Embden-Heine, Principessa della Rocca, *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg, 1881). Fürstin della Rocca, *Skizzen über Heinrich Heine* (Wien, Pest, Leipzig, 1882).

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian Heine, *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine und seine Familie* (Berlin, 1868).

<sup>3</sup> All published in Friedrich Hirth, *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel* (3 vols.; Munich and Berlin, 1914-1920).

<sup>4</sup> It was signed "F.M.," and misplaced, as unidentified, with Campe's unpublished letters to Heine, and is Merckel's reply to Heine's letter of August 24, 1832. In "Heine Collection Strauß"; here published for the first time.

<sup>5</sup> These three items were sold at auction by Paul Grape in Berlin on November 16 and 17, 1931. Mr. Eric Benjamin, who secured a transcript of the dedications, kindly placed them at my disposal. Here published for the first time.

<sup>6</sup> In "Heine Collection Strauß"; all unpublished.

Heine as a critic, and the important rôle he played as Heine's business adviser in his first dealings with his publisher Campe.

No documents are available for Merckel's life until 1826. His childhood friend, Rudolph Christiani, as well as his relatives, a brother and a married sister, lived in Lüneburg which may lead us to assume that he was born there and later settled in Hamburg where he became a well-to-do business man. His financial independence during his close associations with Campe and Heine makes it rather certain that Merckel was slightly older than Heine and nearer Campe's age. Merckel pursued his business with a strong feeling of antagonism and only as a means to an end; his real interest was in literature. He wrote articles for the local Hamburg newspapers and even tried his hand at poetry. These were most likely published under an assumed name, so that they can no longer be identified. The short poem, "Himmlisch war's, wenn ich bezwang," which Hirth claims is in Merckel's handwriting,<sup>7</sup> may thus be his only preserved poetic specimen.<sup>8</sup> In politics Merckel was a liberal who took an active part in the revolutionary movement in 1830, apparently with dismal results. Disgusted at the indifference of the *plebs*, he finally abandoned his political activities and lived a retired and uneventful life in Hamburg until his death in 1846.<sup>9</sup>

When, in 1825, Heine had completed his studies at Göttingen, he went to Hamburg, after a short stay in Norderney and Lüneburg, to take up the practice of law. Here through a letter of introduction from Christiani<sup>10</sup> he became acquainted with Friedrich Merckel, who within a few weeks became his intimate friend. The points of attraction were quite obvious. Merckel, like Heine, was averse to business and interested in the writing of poetry. Furthermore he had the enviable advantage of being an established business man who could help Heine in his financial plights; he was a kindhearted and unselfish person willing to go out of his way for Heine, and, above all, was also a good friend of Campe. It is most likely that Heine became

<sup>7</sup> Heine to Rudolf Christiani, March 11, 1826.

<sup>8</sup> There is no positive proof that this poem, written in Merckel's handwriting at the end of the above letter, was not composed by Heine. The fact, however, that right after it Heine wrote down his beautiful "Der Tod das ist die kühle Nacht" seems strong indication that Merckel and Heine each offered, in a competitive spirit, a specimen of his poetic art to Christiani. The poem, moreover, was published only once during Heine's lifetime as No. 76 of the first version of the *Heimkehr*, as it appeared in the first volume of the *Reisebilder* in 1826. We miss it already the following year in the *Buch der Lieder*. It is possible that the poem, through some oversight, was included in the *Heimkehr* as a product of Heine, but then immediately discarded as unartistic and from Merckel's pen. Such a confusion could easily have taken place, as Heine and Merckel frequently worked over the same poem together.

<sup>9</sup> All data concerning Merckel's life are based on the Heine-Campe-Merckel correspondence used for this article.

<sup>10</sup> Heine to Christiani, December, 1825.

acquainted with his publisher not only through Zimmermann, as is usually conceded, but equally as much through Merckel. From 1826 to 1832 Heine, Merckel, and Campe formed a triumvirate as friends and business partners: Heine was the author, Campe the publisher, and Merckel the critic, proof-reader, and business agent. For years they lived in perfect harmony and enjoyed a business life together which was mingled with innocent fun and harmless pranks.<sup>11</sup> Merckel was Heine's absolute confidant; he was allowed to open his business letters, was initiated into his love affairs, even knew of his relationship with his cousin Therese, and belonged to the select few whom Heine told of Cotta's offer in 1827 to come to Munich. Merckel, on the other hand, kept Heine in touch with literary developments, sent him reviews of his works, procured books that he wished to read, assisted him liberally with money, and even tried to influence Salomon Heine in favor of his nephew. To Campe also Merckel proved a valuable asset. Campe no longer deemed it necessary to write to Heine himself; he left his business matters for Merckel to settle, so that as early as Christmas, 1826, Campe could write to Heine: "Wäre ich ein mobiler Schreiber, so hätte ich öfter Ihnen Mittheilungen machen können. Merckeln trug ich daher alle Commiss. & Spedit. auf."<sup>12</sup> This convenient situation probably explains why so few letters from Campe to Heine between 1826 and 1831 were found in Heine's *Nachlaß*. Heine fully realized what an invaluable friend he had in Merckel when he thanked him for the constant and loving devotion and in a letter, dated July 25, 1826, dedicated to him the lines:

O wie ist es doch erfreulich  
Solchen Jüngling noch zu finden  
Jetzt in unsrer Zeit, wo täglich. . .

Since these verses are an excerpt from the poem "Diesen lebenswürid'gen Jüngling,"<sup>13</sup> it is evident that the poem was meant for Merckel and not for Rudolph Christiani, as is assumed by Elster,<sup>14</sup> who apparently overlooked or failed to identify the excerpt. The contents of the poem, as will become clear from this study, apply in every detail to Merckel. And certainly the line "Oft traktiert er mich mit Austern" can refer only to Merckel in Hamburg, surely not to Christiani in the inland town of Lüneberg where, in 1826, oysters could not possibly have been served.

After Heine's first volume of the *Reisebilder* had appeared in Hamburg, Merckel watched every newspaper for favorable, and

<sup>11</sup> Heine to Campe, September 28, 1850.

<sup>12</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>13</sup> Heine to Merckel, July 25, 1826, and August 16, 1826.

<sup>14</sup> Elster, *Heines Werke*,<sup>2</sup> I, 460 f.

especially for unfavorable, reviews which he compiled diligently, and which collection Campe humorously termed "Merckel's Museum." Heine disliked to be criticized and always made it a point to save his opponents' unfavorable comments in order to repay them with compound interest in his next work. Heine was bold and witty when he could rely upon his pen, but cowardly and helpless when a controversy threatened to come to actualities. Interesting in this connection is the case of the "Schwarze Ungehängte" of which Heine tells in his letter to Moser on October 14, 1826. The Hamburg broker Joseph Friedländer, who believed himself caricatured by Heine in the *Harzreise* and in an article in the *Mitternachtsblatt*, attacked Heine in the street, but denied such action when summoned to court. Secretly, however, he and his followers threatened to thrash Heine at any cost. Heine was actually so afraid that he left Hamburg and asked Merckel to follow up the case most carefully and particularly to find out against whom this man had made threats. Before returning to Hamburg, Heine wanted to be absolutely sure that the case was settled so that his mind was at peace for his work. He even urged Campe to use his influence with the Hamburg mayor Abendroth to silence this dangerous person and to arrange for his personal safety.

Campe himself was anxious to have this matter settled, for it had become the public gossip of Hamburg where arrangements were already made to sell Friedländer's picture from peddlers' carts at one shilling apiece. So Campe replied to Heine on November 28, 1826:

Wegen den Ungehengkten habe ich mich bemüht und gefunden, daß der Mensch der Ernsten Meinung lebt, daß Sie den Aufsatz im Mittern[achts] Bl[att] veranlaßten. Er ist auf das Höchste erzürnt und hat alle Schwüre des Alten T: auf sich geladen, wenn er sich dafür nicht auf das Entschiedenste an Ihnen rächte. -- 3 Jahre will er gerne ins Zuchthaus gehen, wenn ihm sein Vorhaben gelungen! -- Ich halte ihn für einen Poltron; das ist er gewiß! und rathe für den Fall daß Sie herkommen wollen: Abendroth davon, was der Mensch sagt u[nd] beabsichtigt, in Kenntniß zu setzen; der läßt ihn kommen und läßt ihm Frieden bieten oder unter Aufsicht stellen. Wollen Sie mehr thun, so werden Sie ihn sicher beschwichtigen, das hat er geäußert, dann müßten Sie in irgend einem hiesigen Blatt etwas zu seiner Beruhigung schreiben. Sie werden am besten wissen ob und wie das geschehen kann, ohne Sich zweideutig zu machen.<sup>15</sup>

The reference to the "Aufsatz" or better "Courierbild" in the *Mitternachtszeitung* is interesting insofar as at first Campe and

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished.

Heine, themselves, did not know who the author was and when its authorship was finally established it turned out that Merckel, apparently by an indiscreet utterance, had indirectly contributed to the material used and caused the embarrassment. Campe tells about it:

Schütz hatte ich wegen dem Courierbilde lange in Verdacht; er war bei mir u[nd] fragte beiläufig: ob ich es gesehen? Ich sagte ihm, daß das ein Dummes Ding sey – und fügte hinzu: er habe es geschrieben, u[nd] ist dumm, sagte ich, weil es Ihnen sehr unangenehm, rücksichtlich Ihrer Familie, wäre – – daß Sie vielleicht aus der Ursache etwas dagegen thun müßten. Er behauptete M[üllner] hätte es selbst gemacht; gestand aber doch, daß er M gesagt: daß das so eingekleidet sich recht nett machen würde. M, der die geladene Flinte stets in der Hand hatte, hätte einen Funken auf die Pfanne bekommen u[nd] so sey der Schuß weggeflogen. Merckel wird das berichtet haben von dem Manne mit dem Motto:<sup>16</sup>

Sprich was wahr ist!

Iß was gar ist!

Verputze was bar ist!

Schütz wird Ihnen mehr sagen, wenn Sie es von ihm begehren.<sup>17</sup>

In the end the case was actually brought to the attention of Hamburg's mayor Abendroth and settled by him. Amusing is Campe's letter to Heine:

Den schwarzen Lump werde ich seiner Zeit mit einem Abendroth überziehn, daß er alle Angst dieser Welt im Vorgefühl haben soll. – – Necken Sie mich in Gottes Namen nicht, darin bin ich Martyrer. Sagen Sie mir aber vor Ihrer Überkunft für diesen Zweck Bescheid.

Im Zuchthause ist kürzlich eine Tret Mühle (Petmöhl) angelegt, die von Sündern getrieben wird. Ein Bekannter von mir, ist Chef dieser Anstalt; fehlen ihm Arbeiter, so bittet er die Polizei um "Wasser," die dann augenblicklich einige Dutzend Herrn greifen läßt. Wenn der Schwarze doch zu Wasser würde! – – Heute Abend habe ich gehört, daß der Wasser-Candidat gesagt: er werde sich rächen! – – Er und andere Feinde [?] von Ihnen wollen alles aufsuchen was Sie Schlechtes in Ihrem Leben begangen haben. – – Beim Achner Congreß! und wer weiß wo noch ein übler Geruch von Ihnen zurückgeblieben seyn mögte? – – den wollen sie aufsuchen und abdrucken lassen. Er selbst hat es Michaelis<sup>18</sup> gesagt. Ich freue mich wirklich auf diese Vorarbeit für Ihre künftige Biographie und die Bereicherung des Merckelschen Museums! – – Sind die Kerle toll? Wahrlich etwas besseres könnte den Leuten nicht in die Hand gegeben werden woran sie sich abkühlen können als das! – – Daß sie die Zähne zeigen ist gut; ehrlich gestanden, ich sehe & sah nicht ein: was Sie

<sup>16</sup> Heine's wealthy uncle Salomon Heine in Hamburg.

<sup>17</sup> Campe to Heine, December 25, 1826; unpublished.

<sup>18</sup> Eduard Michaelis, paper merchant in Hamburg.



u[nd] warum den Schuft zu Gunsten thun sollten? Die Memme muß durch ein Versprechen sich binden, denn ist er bei seinen Freunden gerechtfertigt, wenn sie ihn Poltron schelten der vielleicht bloß pr Muß etwas thäte, um zu zeigen, daß er ein Mann ist. Den Armen giebt er noch wol gar etwas, daß er so billigen Kauf's sich der Nothwendigkeit enthoben sieht.<sup>19</sup>

Interesting in the above letter is the reference to Heine's presence at the "Achner Congreß" which lasted from October 1 to November 14, 1818, and the ill reputation he left behind. Our Heine biographies know nothing of such a trip to Aachen. Only the Principessa della Rocca in her book, *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine*, makes mention of such a trip during Heine's student days in Bonn.<sup>20</sup>

In his business dealings with Campe Merckel always represented Heine's interests. It has never been realized that it was Merckel who negotiated with Campe concerning a collection of Heine's lyrics and it is to him that we owe the publication of Heine's classic, the *Buch der Lieder*. When, on November 16, 1826, Heine mentioned that his friends had suggested the printing of a popular edition of his poetry, Merckel immediately spoke to Campe on the possibility of such an enterprise. Campe could notify Heine of Merckel's successful negotiations on December 25, 1826:

Mit Merckel war ich über Ihre Gedichte nicht ganz einverstanden. Er denkt an eine Taschenausgabe gleich Klopstock, Wieland, etc. Gott wird mich behüten, daß ich meine Achtung nicht so weit für Sie verliere, daß ich in ein so verwünschtes Lilliput Format Sie zwänge; "ordentlich oder garnicht," so lautet mein Bescheid und zwar in zwei Ausgaben auf recht schönem und ordinärem Papier, so daß jeder nach Belieben wählen darf. M[erckel] meinte 15 Bogen. Ich meine garnicht, wenn ich nicht das Mspt übersehen kann. So wollte er: ich sollte den Preis bestimmen; also ohngefähr glaube ich für die gewöhnl 2 Thaler u für doppelt also 4 Thaler: dafür würde ich sie geben. Sie sagen, lieber Heine! das Buch würde überraschen, wodurch? Haben Sie denn soviel Ungedrucktes noch was dazu kommen soll? Doch bitten muß ich, daran jetzt nicht die Zeit zu vergeuden, die mir so nöthig für die Reisebilder ist!<sup>21</sup>

Merckel was also instrumental in drawing up the first contract between Campe and Heine, dated October 16, 1827. This document is no longer preserved, but later and repeated references to it in Campe's unpublished letters to Heine clearly tell of its contents. Heine was to receive an author's fee of 80 Louis d'or for the second, and each additional volume, of the *Reisebilder*. Each new edition of

<sup>19</sup> Campe to Heine, December 25, 1826; unpublished.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Embden-Heine, Principessa della Rocca, *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine*, p. 40, and p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> Unpublished.



any of Heine's works, including the *Buch der Lieder* and the first volume of the *Reisebilder*, was to pay fifty per cent of the original author's fee received. All such works were to be the exclusive property of the publisher.<sup>23</sup>

But the dealings of the triumvirate were not always harmonious. Merckel was often over-anxious and overbearing in representing Heine's interest, which at times must have caused Campe's resentment and given rise to misunderstandings. So an article in the *Wandsbecker Bote*, containing some unfavorable reflection upon Heine, almost led to a breach of friendship between Campe and Merckel. The *Wandsbecker Bote* is not accessible in America and those letters from Campe and Merckel which might have thrown some light upon the matter, are lost; it is therefore impossible to ascertain the exact nature of the offense. Heine was furious at the article and wrote to Merckel: "Daß ich ohne meine Schuld durch Campe im 'Wandsbecker Boten' blamirt worden, siehst Du."<sup>23</sup> He also wrote to Campe complaining of his indiscretion. Although this letter is lost, another letter to Merckel a few days later, gives a fair idea of its contents: "Meinen letzten Brief an Campe betreffend, wirst Du mir unbedingt Recht gegeben haben. Schändliche Gemeinheit und gemeine Dummheit, Fälschung."<sup>24</sup> We can only surmise from Campe's answer to Heine on June 2, 1828, what had taken place:

Es thut mir in der That Leid, daß Merckel seinen Kleinigkeitsgeist gegen mich zur Unzeit los läßt, indem er Ihnen sagte "ich hätte Ihnen in der Teufelszeitung<sup>25</sup> einige Blamage verursacht." Ihr Bruder Gustav war im Verein Merckels -- wie Kotzebue einst sagte -- bereits mehrere Male der Redaction in's Haus gerückt, ohne daß man mir es gesagt, worauf ich auch keinen Anspruch machte; nun erhielt ich von der Lit. Anstalt den Auftrag, den Leuten zu Pelze zu gehen, was ich ohne Weiteres that u zwar indem ich den Herrn das grobe Geschütz vorfuhr u den Einsatz zu sehen begehrte. Wie ich nun hörte, daß Fr. Wohlweisheiten, der Hr. Corrector Merckel, bereits im Gange war, fand ich, daß ich nun überflüssig sey, u ließ diesem, der mehr Zeit wie ich, das Feld über, auf dem ich nur per Ordre mich eingefunden hatte. Diese winzige Klatscherei ärgert mich; -- liegt aber ganz in Merckels Natur, der mich als Blitzableiter gebrauchen wollte u auf meine Kosten klug erscheint, nemlich soviel sagen will: -- In geistreichen Angelegenheiten wende dich an den Rechten, -- an mich! also Verdruß ließ ihn sprechen. Dieser Zug von Merckel misfällt mir sehr, -- er spricht zu viel aus! Ich mag

<sup>23</sup> Walter Wadepuhl, "Heine and Campe, Poet and Publisher," *MLQ*, I (1940), 273 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Heine to Merckel, April 11, 1828.

<sup>24</sup> Heine to Merckel, April 14, 1828.

<sup>25</sup> The *Teufelszeitung* was a supplement of the *Wandsbecker Bote*.

nichts mehr darüber reden und wünsche, daß dieser Gegenstand nicht mehr berührt werde! weil mein Ärger ganz erwachen würde u meine Freundschaft mit Merckel rein aus wäre: denn es liegt wirklich etwas häßliches dahinter.<sup>26</sup>

This letter seems to admit of the following interpretation. Apparently an unsigned article, discussing Heine unfavorably, had appeared in the *Wandsbecker Bote*. Heine who ascribed certain utterances in it to the indiscretion of Campe asked Merckel to call Campe to account and also asked Campe directly to give an explanation. Campe summoned Merckel, whom he held responsible for having started this difficulty, to disprove his unfounded accusations and to help him find out the real author's name. In the meantime Campe also received a complaint from the Literarischer Verlag, where the *Wandsbecker Bote* was printed, asking him to keep Merckel and Gustav Heine from intruding any longer and to settle the argument among themselves. Campe, who learned in this way that Merckel and Gustav had already started their independent investigation, left the entire matter in their care. In discussing the problem it must have come out that not Campe but Merckel himself, by untimely and indiscreet utterances, had furnished the material for the article and, realizing his faux-pas and anxious to avoid embarrassment before Heine, had shifted the entire blame to Campe. This would not have been Merckel's first offense; he had caused Heine similar embarrassment by having indiscreetly discussed the strained relationship between Heine and his rich uncle Salomon—which information Müllner used in the *Courierbilder* of his *Mitternachtszeitung* in 1826.

The printing of the third volume of the *Reisebilder* caused another difficulty between Heine and Campe which was finally settled by Merckel. Heine had promised the manuscript for this work to Campe for a long time, but failed to keep his word so that finally, on August 29, 1829, Campe wrote to Heine:

Ich habe für mein Geschäft Verpflichtungen, wie Sie für Sich welche haben. Setzen Sie den Fall: ich wäre meinen Versprechungen nicht nachgekommen, u ich hätte eben so gewissenlos gegen Sie gehandelt, wie Sie es gegen mich gethan haben, wie würde das Ihnen gefallen? Bedenken Sie, daß ich Michaelis 1827 diesen Theil haben sollte; dann versprochen Sie ihn im Januar, dann Ostern, dann Michaelis, dann wieder im Decbr. Im Februar d. J. gaben Sie mir Ihr heiliges Wort, daß gleich von Berlin der Anfang folgen solle. Die Ostermesse rief mich nach Leipzig; ich scheute den Umweg über Berlin nicht. In Potsdam versprochen Sie mir auf das Bestimmteste: Anfang July sollte das Mspt folgen und ich könnte Papier anschaffen und den Druck vorbereiten. Papier steht seit Juny hier, Drucker waren ge-

<sup>26</sup> Unpublished.

dungen. Sie kamen und mit Ihnen die Ihnen unwürdige kindische Ausrede zugleich, und so geht es ad infinitum los! Mögten Sie das Gefühl kennen, was bei mir ein solches Verfahren erwecken muß, so werden Sie mich begreifen, wenn ich Ihnen sage: daß ich vor Empfang des Mspts keinen Federzug mehr an Sie in Bewegung setze, darauf mein Ehrenwort.<sup>27</sup>

Since Heine needed money and Campe refused to make any further advances until he had received the new manuscript, Heine finally accepted Campe's suggestion to send the finished part to be printed and to be proofread by Merckel, while Heine in the meantime could finish the rest of the manuscript.<sup>28</sup> Heine worked at top speed to please Campe who wished to have the entire book through the press before the Christmas rush. This intense work, however, was suddenly interrupted when Heine received the first proof sheets. He was disgusted with the poor quality of the paper and wrote to Merckel:

Das war also das Papier, das meiner so sehnüchtig harnte, und um dessentwillen unser typographischer Julius mich beständig pisackte! Zweifelst Du jetzt daran, daß er nicht einst Cotta übertrifft! . . . Ich laufe wüthend im Zimmer herum und betrachte vergleichend meine alte Unterhosen und dann wieder meinen Aushängbogen. Ich sterbe vor Unmuth.<sup>29</sup>

Heine gave Merckel power of attorney to withdraw the entire work unless Campe used better paper. He was even willing to indemnify Campe for any loss that might have resulted from the partial printing of the book.<sup>30</sup> Here we owe it to Merckel's diplomatic negotiations that Campe finally used a better grade of paper. Strodtmann, in his biography of Heine, states in one place that Heine had to sacrifice thirty Louis d'or<sup>31</sup> of his fee to have his wishes carried out, and in another place that Heine had to write several additional signatures of text<sup>32</sup> to recompense Campe for the extra expense. Apart from the fact that Strodtmann contradicts himself by giving two independent explanations, neither could actually have been correct. Heine, as Strodtmann should have known, was too acute in money matters to allow his fee to be curtailed by thirty Louis d'or; the records, moreover, show very clearly that Heine was paid eighty Louis d'or for the third volume of the *Reisebilder*. Campe and Heine did have a controversy about thirty Louis d'or concerning the

<sup>27</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>28</sup> Campe to Heine, July 22, 1829. Hirth, No. 236.

<sup>29</sup> Heine to Merckel, October 24, 1829.

<sup>30</sup> Heine to Merckel, October 29, 1829.

<sup>31</sup> Adolf Strodtmann, *H. Heine's Leben und Werke* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1869), II, 52.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 152.

second volume, and apparently Strodtmann got these two volumes confused (which is easily possible), as Heine and Campe frequently discuss the *Reisebilder* without definitely stating to which volume they have reference. The statement that Heine had to write several additional signatures is likewise out of the question. Heine had only time to finish the original amount of work before the Christmas rush, as he had promised Campe; any additional signatures of text could not possibly have been written within the short time allotted, and in this case Heine actually finished on time. Campe, moreover, who had waited two years for the manuscript and was glad that the printing of it was now under way, would not have dared to antagonize Heine at this point, but rather would have made any concession to have this matter off his mind. It would, on the other hand, have been in conformity with Campe's character to complain to Heine that this delay and the high quality of the paper cost him an extra thirty Louis d'or and that Heine should really stand the extra expense. Heine, who had always been an expert at distorting facts by telling only half the truth, no doubt used this method of presentation when he wrote to Varnhagen von Ense on January 3, 1830: "Ein wahrer Schuft aber ist mein Campe, der sogar, um mich in meinen pekuniären Ansprüchen niederzuhalten, gegen mein Buch geheime Ränke ausübt."

Of the greatest importance, however, is Merckel's artistic and critical ability in poetic questions and the value Heine attached to Merckel's suggestions. We know from Heine's letters that Merckel was even "grausam" in his criticism of Heine's verse and that Merckel's apparent prudishness kept Heine from committing many excesses. So the entire *Buch der Lieder* and the lyrical part of the *Reisebilder* were submitted to Merckel's artistic comments, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the section of the *Buch der Lieder*, having the subtitle, *Die Nordsee*, to which Merckel had devoted his particular attention, was dedicated to him.<sup>23</sup>

Each of the first three volumes of the *Reisebilder*, which Heine had presented to Merckel, also bears a personal inscription, telling of the part Merckel had in their composition. They are here published for the first time.

The poem inscribed in Merckel's copy of the first volume of the *Reisebilder* is self-explanatory; it was written in Hamburg on May 26, 1826:

<sup>23</sup> Heine also presented Merckel with a copy of his *Ratcliff* in which he inscribed the poem: "Ich habe die süße Liebe gesucht." Elster,<sup>2</sup> I, 259.

*Giebelrede des Verfassers*

Die schönsten Blumen—Leiden und Lieben—  
 Sind längst aus der Seele herausgeschrieben,  
 Die wenigen Blümchen, die drin geblieben,  
 Hat der Lenz nun wieder hervorgetrieben—  
 Du, Merckel, hast treulich die Kleinen gehegt,  
 Hast manche selbst in die Wiege gelegt,  
 Die Wiege, das ist dies kleine Buch,  
 Es machte uns Müh' und Plage genug—  
 Gott, der so gut und gnadenreich  
 Er schenkte uns allen das Himmelreich,  
 Er schützte auf Erden die Blinden und Lahmen  
 Und dies lahm' und blinde Büchlein—Amen!

The prose dedication to Merckel's copy of the second volume of the *Reisebilder* can be understood without difficulty, if we bear in mind that late in 1826 Merckel had sent Heine a book about a "när-rischer Klabautermann"<sup>34</sup> which was written by the Hamburg City Councillor Martin Hieronymus Hudtwalker under the pseudonym Oswald, entitled *Bruchstücke aus Karl Bertholds Tagebuch*, which had just been published, and which tells the story of the Flying Dutchman:

Dir, dem Klabautermann des Buches brauche ich es nicht besonders zu empfehlen, du hast ihm deinen Schutz angedeihen lassen, hast die guten Gedanken nachgestaut, hast oft warnend an die Planken gehämmert, und jetzt sitzt du auf dem Bramsegel und erwartest das Aufheulen der Hexen, die diesem Buche einen ordentlichen Sturm erregen werden—

Dein Freund

H. Heine

H. d 12. April 1827.

When Heine wrote the third volume of the *Reisebilder*, Merckel's contributions consisted mainly of intense proofreading. Merckel had urged Heine to refrain from devoting his time to polemical prose and to limit his energies to the composition of pure poetry. Moreover, a person who had objected to the word "Flöhe" in Heine's poetical works could not possibly have condoned Heine's vicious attack on Platen. This situation will explain Campe's emphatic promise that "Merckel soll lesen, daß ihm die Augen übergehen und durchaus nichts verbessern wollen!"<sup>35</sup> as well as the reference to "Kastalia" in the following poem, written in Merckel's copy of the third volume of the *Reisebilder* on January 15, 1830:

<sup>34</sup> Heine to Merckel, January 1, 1827.

<sup>35</sup> Campe to Heine, July 22, 1829. Hirth, No. 236.

Schau' hinein ins Buch, da drinnen  
 Siehst du Nebelmenschen schwanken,  
 Siehst, wie blutende Gedanken  
 Durch die weißen Herzen rinnen.

Aber auch lebend'ge Rosen  
 Lachen blühend dir entgegen,  
 Und auf süßverschwiegne Wegen  
 Hörst du Nachtigallen kosen.  
 Und sie kosen von Italia;  
 Und geschieht es auch in Prose,  
 Murmelt doch durch das Gekose  
 Fern melodisch die Kastalia.

H. Heine.

After Heine had left for France in the spring of 1831, we have no more letters from Heine to Merckel, except one dated August 24, 1832. Various reasons account for this silence. Campe and Merckel had fallen out for some unknown reason and had not become reconciled until November 14, 1831, when Campe wrote to Heine:

Mit Merckel, der Sie herzlich grüßen läßt, stehe ich mich seit einiger Zeit wieder besser, das heißt: er besucht mich wie sonst u das ist mir lieb, denn an Freunden ist man ja nicht so reich daß man leichtfertig einen aufgeben sollte!<sup>36</sup>

Campe, as formerly, again submitted Heine's manuscripts to Merckel, in this case the *Vorreden* to the second edition of volumes I and II of the *Reisebilder*, and reported Merckel's observations to Heine:

Merckeln zeigte ich in den Aushängebogen die Vorrede; er tadelte drei Worte "meine Freunde" -- "jakobinisch unerbitterlich --" und ich glaube den Schluß "nehmen zu sehr meine Aufmerksamkeit in Anspruch" -- ferner sagte er mir: Die Vorrede zum 1ten Theile sey die Vornehmheit in Schuen, zum 2ten aber in Stiefeln.<sup>37</sup>

Now that Heine was in Paris a reverse situation arose; whereas formerly Merckel informed Heine about Campe, it is now Campe who informs Heine about Merckel. There are also indications that, although Merckel fully understood and appreciated Heine's lyric poetry, they began to drift apart in politics. Indicative is a statement in Campe's letter to Heine, dated March 13, 1832:

Merckel läßt Sie grüßen. Mir sagte er, die Boötiner -- im Morgenblatte -- wären von Ihnen. Ich habe den Aufsatz angefangen zu lesen, aber wieder weggelegt, das haben Sie nicht geschrieben. Ich würde auf Schnitzler rathen.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>37</sup> Campe to Heine, November 27, 1831; unpublished.

<sup>38</sup> Unpublished.

This is a clear indication that Merckel no longer understood the political Heine, for this very article by Schnitzler, that Merckel attributed to Heine, was from the pen of one of Heine's opponents.

In 1831 Campe asked Heine about his next publication: "Also wozu haben Sie sich entschlossen, zum Roman hoffentlich?"<sup>39</sup> When no such novel or any other work appeared, Campe made another appeal to Heine:

Ihr Interesse haben Sie in diesem Jahre sehr verkannt; nicht ein gescheutes, Aufsehen erregendes Buch ist erschienen; hätten Sie etwas gebracht oder brächten Sie jetzt noch rasch etwas, so haben Sie höchst wahrscheinlich das Reich allein. Die Juli Ordonnanzen hemmen die liter. Thätigkeit gar sehr und darauf gründe ich die Hoffnung, daß nicht einer mit Ihnen in Concurrenz trete. Ich meine dieser Umstand sey in jeder Hinsicht wohl zu beachten, und verdiene eine Berücksichtigung, die auf Ihren literarischen Ruf vortheilhaft einwirken müßte. Seyn Sie nicht vornehm, verschmähen Sie diesen Vortheil nicht! es ist ein ehrlicher Nutzen der sich bietet, den man also nicht von sich stoßen soll!

Eben komme ich von Merckel, der über diesen Punkt vollkommen einverstanden ist; der mich auffordert Ihnen dieses ans Herz zu legen! . . .

Ich wünsche so aufrichtig, daß Sie Ihren Vortheil nicht verkennten mögten! Sollten sich vielleicht die Gestalten in Paris ändern, so schadet das dem Buche nichts: kommt es vor dem Ereigniß; in dieser Zeit wird es dankbar angenommen u dann lieb behalten.<sup>40</sup>

Heine was at this time ready to publish the *Französische Zustände*, for which, however, he still had to write the *Vorrede*. Here he saw an opportunity to use Merckel again for his purposes, and immediately sent him his only letter from Paris stating that in spite of his paralyzed hand he felt the urge to write, that his attempt at a novel had failed, and that his belletristic art had been neglected since all his energies were absorbed by the great movements in France. Heine had a request to make of Merckel, not "weil ich die Absicht hege, einige Bücher herauszugeben . . . und weil ich alsdann wünschte, daß Du dabey Deine kristischen Augen in Bewegung setzest," but rather

Dich zu bitten, mir mahl zu schreiben, wie es in Deutschland aussieht, mir immer zu schreiben, was dort vorgeht, so faktisch als möglich, und hauptsächlich politische Verhältnisse betreffend. . . . Haben während dem letzten Jahre die Blätter, die ich hier in Frankreich gar nicht sehe, etwas enthalten, was mich besonders ehrenrührig betrifft, so bitte ich es mir zu notifiziren; in der Vorrede zu dem ersten Werke, welches erscheint, will ich dergleichen berühren.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Campe to Heine, December 28, 1831; unpublished.

<sup>40</sup> Campe to Heine, August 20, 1832; unpublished.

<sup>41</sup> Heine to Merckel, August 24, 1832.



Merckel's unpublished answer to this letter, on September 13, 1832, is enlightening: it is the only letter from Merckel we possess and, as far as a single letter can, affords an insight into Merckel's life and character; it also indicates how far Heine and Merckel had already drifted apart. To Heine, Merckel probably represented something of the philistine type whose ideal of life still was "art for art's sake," whereas Heine had entered into the great world of Paris and placed his muse at the service of politics.

Hamburg d: 13 Sept: 1832

Lieber Heine! Es ist eine schwere Zeit, die Vieles heischt, auch vieles zu vergessen heischt; die Nothwendigkeit erkenne ich an, und Du bist, unter allen Deutschen, noch immer der Einzige (Egoist), der dieser Zeit und a l l' ihrer Cholera den feinsten, beizendsten Cayenne-Pfeffer ziehen und, mit dem scharfen Messer aus der "Sammet-Scheide" aufschneiden kann, so lange es Dir gefällt, Deinen besten Acker Zeit zu dieser politischen Aussaat zu benutzen! Zwar wünschte ich, für Deinen besten Acker Zeit daß Dir Anderes, Nachweltlicheres, gefiele, doch bin ich zufrieden, wenn Du zugleich für einige "rot und blaue Blumen" zwischen dem deutschen Nutzkorn sorgst. Ach, die schwere Zeit könnte ja leicht noch schlimmer werden! Die Kronjuwelen-Diebe könnten klug werden und aufhören, im Einzelnen (Campesche) Knicker zu seyn; (O, Barthelemy!) oder die geheimen Räthe des Nachtbunds könnten insgeheim ihre Freiheits-Jäger ersuchen, das beste Gold nur für die Einsammlung der rot' und blauen Blumen zu sparen, damit die Jugend sie nicht ferner zu ihren Zeichen und Kränzen wähle, das nichtgefährliche Nationalkorn aber ruhig fortwogen zu lassen bis zur neuen Schneide-Zeit. -- Glaub mir, Heine, nicht das öffentliche Kugelgießen in der Frankfurter Wolfsschlucht, nicht die naive "Nannerl" Ironie der Ffther Perrücken, die die hohe Ächtungs-Bulle gegen Rotteck<sup>42</sup> nur an Goethe's Geburtstag publicirten, um mit Tact dankbar zu seyn, quält mich, vielmehr habe ich das Unwetter bewillkomm't, nur die abermalige Indifferenz des Petz, besonders hier, kann mir das Herz wiederholt so wund machen, daß ich wahrlich oft möchte, ich wäre schon gestorben. Es ist ein Fluch, zu thun, was man haßt und hassen zu müssen, -- was man selbst thut und diesen Widerspruch mit sich herumzuschleppen, doch in solcher Zeit der allgemeinen Noth den Schacher auch noch als den ewig indifferentesten Wucher zu erkennen, und selbst noch Zeitlebens bei ihm aushalten zu müssen, o das nagt, Heine! -- Über das anhaltendschlechteste Wetter beklage ich mich dagegen nicht mit den Pfaffbürgen hier. Sie verdienen's ja für ihr ewiges: Wenn's nur Frieden bleibt, um jeden Preis Frieden! Wenn nur

<sup>42</sup> Karl W. R. v. Rotteck (1775-1840), member of the liberal party, was dismissed from his professorship at Freiburg in 1832, his newspapers *Der Freisinnige* and *Politische Annalen* suppressed, and his election to mayor of Freiburg refused confirmation by decree of the Federal Diet.



Hamburgs Handel von keiner Allmanns-Noth mitleidet! Wer anders denkt, ist kein "Hamburger Kind" oder gehört auch wohl nicht zum "Ehrbaren Kaufmann". -- Den Beleg zu dieser Gesinnung mag auch Dir folgendes aufs neue geben.

Gleich nach den Franckfurter Ordonnanzen ließ ein angesehener Bürger eine Petition um Preßfreiheit für die instädtischen (!) Angelegenheiten unter der Hand circuliren. Etwa fünfzig, meist fremde, Insassen unterzeichneten, sonst fand sie keine Unterstützung. Die Petition war ledern gerathen, ein H. Ascher Dr. hatte sie aufgesetzt, aber das wäre kein Abhaltungsgrund gewesen, sie zu unterschreiben, wenn ihr Inhalt, statt Preßfreiheit, nur ein Gastgebot bezweckt hätte. -- Der Censor, Herr von Sienen (nicht von Sinnen, wie Einige schreiben) weiß sich diesen Indifferentismus der hamburgischen Magen, bei den Zeitungen zu Nutze zu machen. Er strich neulich sogar einen Urtheilsspruch: C[am]pe's Freisprechung wegen der Börne'schen Briefe. Aber der Zeitungsredacteur wandte sich an den Senat, und erhielt das imprimatur, so wie der Herr von Sinnen (Andere schreiben richtiger v. Sienen) eine confidentielle Nase. Er hat deren aber schon eine Anzahl und soll in alle sehr verliebt seyn.

Du willst auf altem, sehr bekannten Billiard eine neue Partie spielen; so wird man dann wieder einige feine Bälle darauf machen sehen. Deine Mitspieler kennst Du auch und einer<sup>43</sup> blieb Dir ja treu bis zur Seine, selbst während der Cholera, die Don Maltitz und Don Börne verjagte! -- Aber zu den Glacé-Handschuhen, die jener Treue Dir neulich verehrte, sollte er Dir hübsch auch einen Fiacre gegönnt haben, um den Glauben, sowohl an die Glacés als auch und vielmehr an den Leib-Refrain: "Mein Freund H. H." nicht zu irritiren. Von Don Maltitz hieß es dieser Tage, er sey Bräutigam von der verwitweten Drin Mumsen. Ohe! -- Nannte man Dich doch gar St. Simonist!

Was mich besonders von Dir freute, ist, daß Du der großen mère Violette<sup>44</sup> nicht ausgewichen; und daß sie, Dir zuerst, dafür ihr Ewigkeits-Portrait geschenkt. Jetzt sollte Menzel Dir den "Mann" hübsch zurückgeben, den er zu früh dem Börne nachgeredet, weil dieser kein Dichter ist, sondern nur ein "Jacobinerzimmer und Journaliste par excellence". Dieses und manche Wort von Rotteck war gut. Aber Menzel und all' die übrigen Brief-Richter im C[am]pe'schen Sold<sup>45</sup> oder Kunstdienst! Als ob Jacobinismus Kraft wäre! Ach nein, aber ein Jammer bleibt es, zu sehen, bis zu welcher Alltäglichkeit ein sonst guter Schriftsteller herabsinken kann. Börne hat sich ausgeschrieben, fürchte ich. Daß er mit den Briefen seinen Ruhm auf immer begraben, darüber ist nur Eine Stimme bei Allen, die seine 8 Bände Schriften haben und schon diese nicht wieder lesen. Mir ging es komisch gleich bei dem 6t oder 7t Bogen dieser

<sup>43</sup> Heine's publisher Campe.

<sup>44</sup> Cholera.

<sup>45</sup> Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* were published by Campe in 1832.

Briefe und C[am]pe grollte mir deshalb. "Lesen Sie, und wenn Sie erstaunen, dann rathen Sie." Als mir das Erstaunen nicht kommen wollte, rieth ich auf Lehmann.<sup>46</sup> Das verdroß H. Julius C. unsäglich. Doch freute ich mich nachher seines Sieges vor dem niedrigen Gericht, um der Sache willen. Mein Verdruß hingegen ist, wenn Du immer als pendant zu Börne genannt und gar lithographirt wirst. Bei mir hat Dein Bild nach Oppenheim<sup>47</sup> bessere Gesellschaft: Nap und Canning! Dem Canning hast Du ein schönes Monument gesetzt.<sup>48</sup> Bravo, Heine!

In Deinem lieben Brief,<sup>49</sup> den ich vor 8 Tagen erst empfang, befreundete mich die Erkundigung nach dem, was etwa gegen Dich in Journalen gestanden, für den Zweck damit in der nächsten Vorrede.<sup>50</sup> Gottlob, ich weiß nichts von dergleichen, weil ich seit einem Jahr und länger von allen Zeitschriften nur noch Cotta's Morgenblatt und allem. Ztg lese. Das weißt Du auch schon, so wie nicht minder, wie zurückgezogen ich lebe aus Furcht vor neuen Undankstritten, -- weshalb ich Dir wenig in dem Wunsche, Dich von den neuesten Vorgängen zu unterhalten, werde zu Willen leben können. Doch magst Du mir, für Vorkommendes, die Adresse von Jemand, an den ich unter Couvert Dir schreiben kann, aufgeben; an Dich direct zu schreiben, halte ich nicht mehr für gerathen in solchen Fällen. Ich wollte übrigens, Du wärest nachgerade des "Strudels" dort überdrüssig! -- Eben jetzt, wo die Zeitungen sich beeifern, Platen's Rückkehr nach München zu melden müßte Deine Gemäldegalerie (contra Ruhmor)<sup>51</sup> und Dein neuer Frühling (verdoppelt) neu aufgelegt, von der glücklichsten Wirkung seyn. -- Immermanns kräftiger Alexis hat leider einen barbarischen Epilog im Schlepptau und außerdem den Unstern des gerechten Ekels vor allem Russischen wider sich. Darum, und weil Ehren-Christiani<sup>52</sup> jetzt doch den großen Kampf für's Vaterland auf sich genommen, trotz der schlimmen, überlegenen Rose im Kopf, woran er fortleidet, -- darum lieber Heine, wünsche ich Deiner "geistigen durch vieles Leiden schon genug gebildeten" Hand die baldige Herstellung, aber nur an der ewigen Kastalia. Amen!

Dein F. M.

This letter must have been a disappointment to Heine. He had to realize that Merckel was no longer able, as Heine had certainly expected, to supply him regularly with the information desired and

<sup>46</sup> Friend of Heine during his student days in Berlin; later editor of *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*.

<sup>47</sup> I.e., Heine's picture by Oppenheim.

<sup>48</sup> In *Französische Zustände*.

<sup>49</sup> Heine to Merckel, August 24, 1832.

<sup>50</sup> Walter Wadepuhl, "Heine's 'Vorrede zu den französischen Zuständen.' Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der preußischen Zensur," *PMLA*, LVIII (1943).

<sup>51</sup> Never published by Heine; lost.

<sup>52</sup> Rudolf Christiani, mutual friend of Heine and Merckel, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1832.

that Merckel had given up all political interests and aspirations, and even urged Heine to return to writing belletristic literature as the only type that had permanent value. On December 21, 1832, this difference in attitude came to a climax when Campe actually stated:

Heute habe ich die [französischen] Zustände empfangen und beginne, die Ausgabe. Ihnen sende ich die Vorrede, damit Sie sehen, wie sie castrirt ist. — Merckel trägt mir auf Ihnen zu sagen: Wozu diese Sie begeistern?<sup>83</sup>

Heine, who took Merckel's remark personally, told Campe a short time later: "Merckel ist schadenfroh; sagen Sie ihm, ich sey begeistert. . . ."<sup>84</sup> This may have led, if not to an open break, at least to a discontinuation of Heine's relations with Merckel. Heine mentions Merckel's name only once more, and perhaps ironically, when he instructs Campe to replace in the second edition of the third volume of the *Reisebilder* the empty space with the word "Flöhe," adding: "Ich habe mich nemlich, als das Buch gedruckt wurde, durch Merckels Prüderie verleiten lassen, die armen Flöhe auszulassen; jetzt aber sollen sie wieder hineingesetzt werden."<sup>85</sup> After that day, the name Merckel no longer exists in Heine's vocabulary.<sup>86</sup> Even during his visits in Hamburg in 1843 and 1844 we find no reference to Merckel anywhere. This silence was finally broken by Campe's laconic remark on September 4, 1846: "Gestern ist Merckel nach eintägigem Unwohlseyn gestorben."<sup>87</sup> The death of his once beloved friend left Heine untouched and did not even evoke a single word of reply from his pen. Heine had completely forgotten how much of his early success he owed to his unselfish and sacrificing friend, Friedrich Merckel.

*Elmhurst, New York City*

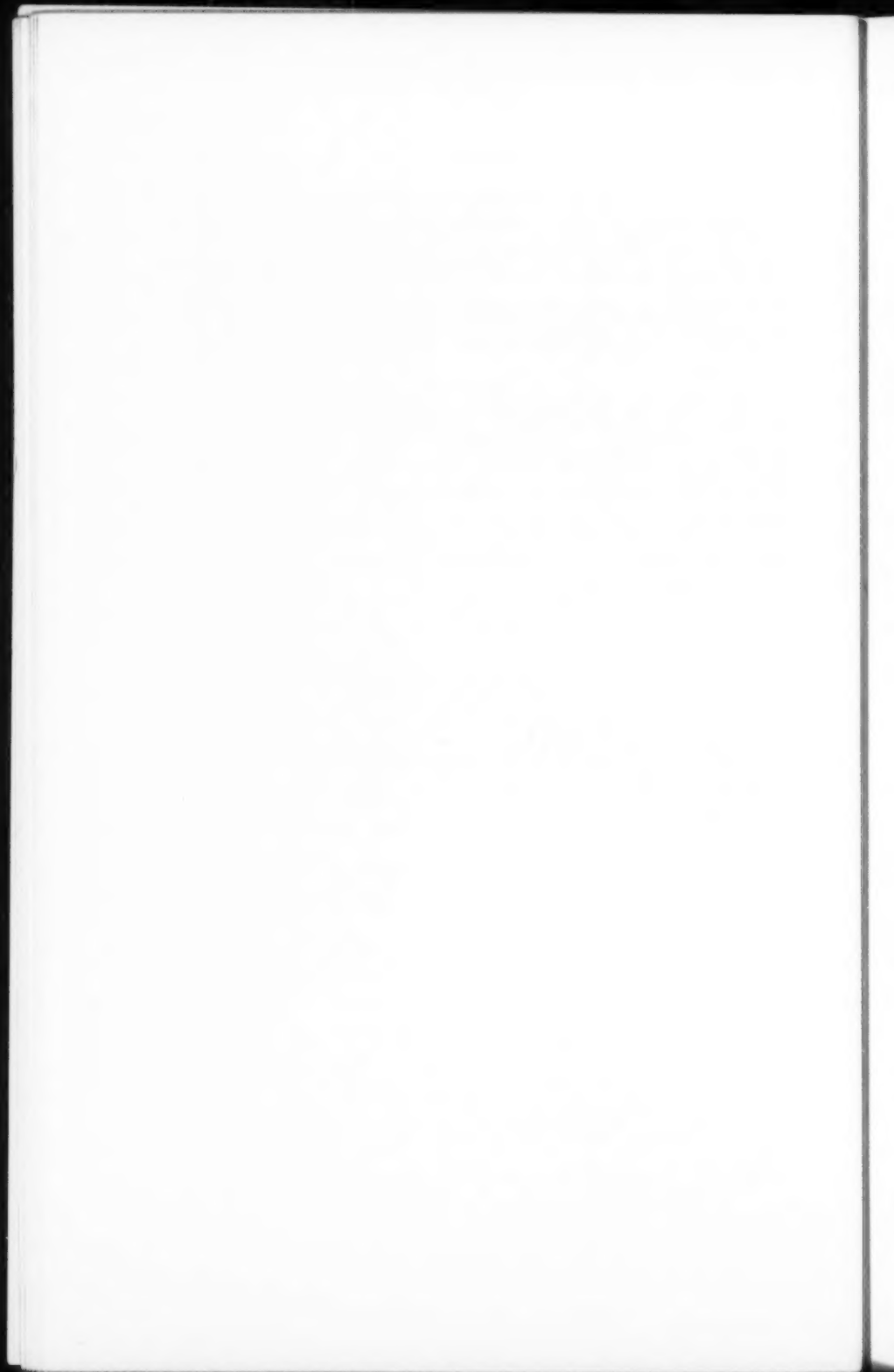
<sup>83</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>84</sup> Heine to Campe, December 28, 1832.

<sup>85</sup> Heine to Campe, September 8, 1833.

<sup>86</sup> At least not during Merckel's lifetime. In 1850, when Heine had received no news from Campe for a long time, he ridiculed Campe's silence as childish, stating: "Es erinnert an die primitiven Zeiten, wo Sie mit Ihrem Patroklos Merckel mir Makaronen durchs Fenster ins Zimmer warfen."

<sup>87</sup> Unpublished.



## WHY DOES LANGUAGE CHANGE?<sup>1</sup>

By LEO SPITZER

The question propounded in the title of this paper is a staggering one; it is a question that could find no answer, however tentative, so long as scholars in linguistics, faced with the common experience that time brings about changes in language, dwelt exclusively on the aspect of variation. Not until it was realized that historic change is characterized by a certain regularity could such an attempt be made: it is the element of consistency within change that serves to cast light on the possible causes of change. Or, in the more circumscribed field of phonetic change: so long as the only phonetic criterion was the aesthetic correspondence of sound with meaning (for example, according to Varro the *h* in *horror* was excellently suited to express horror, the word *mel* was a fitting representation of the thing "honey");<sup>2</sup> so long as one failed to perceive that sound-shifts in different words take place with a certain regularity in a certain linguistic community and period (and with relatively little regard to the meaning of the particular word), the science of phonetics made no progress. But today any high-school boy possessing the rudiments of Latin and French may discover by himself the so-called "phonetic law" that Latin tonic long stressed *e* in unchecked syllables evolves to Fr. *ua*; and, if he should undertake to read Old French, he would discover that this *e* passed regularly first to *ei*, later to *oi*, and still later to *ue*, *ua* (*rēge* > *rei* > *roi* > *rué* > *ruá*).

The idea of the "phonetic law" (already latent in the discussions of certain isolated Renaissance scholars)<sup>3</sup> was first conceived, and the term itself coined, by Humboldt and Bopp;<sup>4</sup> the former spoke of *phonetische Gesetze*, the latter, in words reminiscent of the aesthetic approach of the Greeks, of *Wohllautregeln* "rules of euphony"—an expression which he later changed to *Wohllautgesetze* and then abridged to *Lautgesetze*. While, thanks to Humboldt, there

<sup>1</sup> Text of an address delivered to the Philological Association of the Johns Hopkins Faculty (December 11, 1941). I have added the notes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Steinthal, "Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern," p. 340 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. A. Hall, "Linguistic Theory in the Italian Renaissance," *Language*, XII, 96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Wechssler, "Gibt es Lautgesetze?" in *Festschrift Suchier*, who codified the neogrammarian thesis by reducing the sphere of phonetic change to a rather mythological dichotomy: *Artikulationsbasis* and "Accent." Elise Richter would make accent responsible for the whole of Romance phonetics; cf. "Der innere Zusammenhang der romanischen Sprachen," *Beiheft 27 of ZRP*h.

was brought into linguistics the philosophical idea of the Romantics that civilization develops like an organism, this Romantic idea was permitted to become curiously entwined with scientific positivism, under the growing influence of the natural sciences: thus the "phonetic laws" were supposed really to be "natural laws" which condition and explain the organic life of language. Such an assumption was challenged by Hugo Schuchardt<sup>5</sup> in 1876: in his polemics against the "neo-grammarians" school at Leipzig, he clearly demonstrated that a phonetic law (such as the one  $e > ei$  which we have just taken as an example) differs from a law of nature in that the former was active only in a certain area (e.g., France) and only for a certain period of time (e.g., 9-10 c.)—nor, even in that limited area and period was it binding for all words. Such a law, then, is not to be confused with, for example, the law of gravity which is always and everywhere equally efficacious (Schuchardt did not foresee our times, when the law of gravity itself would be considered no longer as based on causality but only on the law of averages!). Somewhat in the same vein Thurneysen, in his *Rektorsrede* (1905) on "etymology," protested that sound-shifts in the different words never take place with the uniformity of a "goose-stepping row of Prussian grenadiers."

Since, according to Schuchardt, it is not legitimate to accept phonetic laws as representing blind, irresistible forces of nature, then these laws must be considered as themselves determined by deeper forces active in language. It is true that even the neo-grammarians school allowed for the occasional intervention of the human mind: this is made responsible for the phenomenon of *analogy*, to which one must resort in order to explain, for example, the failure of the  $e$  in *habemus* to develop in French as *ue* (\**aveins*); by analogy with *sūmus* the form became \**habūmus* (> *nous avons*). But Schuchardt believed that even in the so-called "regular" phonetic changes, analogy (i.e., mental influence) may be responsible: for example, in the development  $ei > oi$  we witness a dissimilation of the first part of the diphthong  $e$  into  $o$  in order to break up the combination of two palatals: here we may trace a mental influence born of the tendency toward variation.<sup>6</sup> Schuchardt, then, has the merit of having rescued phonetics from the infringement of the natural sciences upon the cultural; we philologists had credulously paid tribute to a transitory view of Nature, as held by

<sup>5</sup> "Über die Lautgesetze," reprinted in my *Schuchardt-Brevier*.

<sup>6</sup> Schuchardt called this phenomenon "lautliche Analogie," and would explain thereby the Romance diphthongization (via the *umlaut* caused by final -u, -i; originally *buono buoni* but *bona*). This theory of diphthongization has been revived by Schürr, *Rom. Forsch.*, L, 275 and LIII, 27.

naturalists—which is on no account to be confused with the Laws of Nature herself.

But while the belief in the absoluteness of the phonetic law was shaken, it could not be denied that phonetic changes appeared to be carried out in the different words with a relative regularity. Even the founder of linguistic geography, Jules Gilliéron, who stoutly proclaimed the correctness of Schuchardt's slogan "Every word has its own history," did not fail to take these laws into account: he behaved with them much as we do today with the newspapers—mistrusting them, scorning them, but using them. Thus a new problem arose: what accounts for this conformity, in practice, to certain, let us say, *rules* of phonetics?

Before this could be understood, it was necessary that another fallacy in the positivism of the neogrammarians be corrected: they had treated the acoustically perceptible sounds, as uttered by the speaking community, as if these were objective palpable phenomena like the hair and nails that grow on an organism. They failed to realize the obvious truth that human speech is primordially a psychological activity, its source being in the mind of the speaker. The merit of having brought phonetics back to psychology belongs to the Russian, Baudouin de Courtnay who, in his lonely town of Kasan, was teaching, as early as 1868, that the sounds as sense-data are not a psychological reality to the community: in the minds of a speaking group there is a psychological correspondent of the actual sound; this he called a "phoneme." To give a practical example: whenever I ask the colored waitress in our Faculty Club to bring me some *milk* she looks at me blankly; her lack of comprehension I attribute to my *l*-sound; her conception of *l* evidently does not square with mine—which may still, I fear, be a rather German *l*.

Given this discrepancy between "sound" and "phoneme," the task of the linguist must be, not to catalogue the sounds which physicists can register with their apparatuses, but to inquire into the problem: which sounds are conceived as distinct by a community, and which groupings of phonemes are possible there? But scant attention was paid to the systematic and psychological approach as advocated by Courtnay until the day he found a posthumous ally in a book, itself posthumous: the *Cours de linguistique générale* (1915) written in Geneva by Ferdinand de Saussure in opposition to the German school ("Sprachwissenschaft ist Sprachgeschichte"—H. Paul); in this work Saussure rehabilitated the systematic and descriptive approach to language which had already been cultivated in the seventeenth century in France by the grammarians of Port-Royal. Thanks to this French-Swiss ally and to the

spiritual by-products of emigration, Baudouin de Courtnay's ideas began to spread in Europe and America: the treatise of the Russian-born Sapir, "Sound Patterns in Language," opened the first volume of the American journal *Language*, in 1925; in Vienna, Prince Trubetzkoy published "Polabische Studien" in 1927; the *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague* soon followed. A new science was born: phonology as opposed to phonetics.<sup>7</sup> Whereas the latter studies the possible acoustic phenomena which may be produced in all times and all places by human throats and mouths, the former treats of the actual conceptions of sounds as these have materialized in particular communities. Henceforth the "phonetic laws" must be transformed into phonological laws. To return to our *milk*: the sound pattern, phoneme, archetype of an American English *l*—the "Platonic Idea" as it were of this sound in this country—does not comprehend the particular variant extant in German; and the naïve mind of the waitress clings most tenaciously to the few platonic ideas, to the few abstractions, which it has been able to acquire—just as it would englobe in the idea "town" the American drugstore and exclude therefrom the European coffee-house.

Now we are able to understand the bearing which the phonological approach may have on *historical* linguistics. Prior to the emergence of any sound-shift there must have been a change in the mental pattern of the sound; hence the (heretofore unexplained) regularity of the sound-shift. Moreover, since any pattern of one sound is associated with others in our minds, other sound-shifts must occur when one pattern is displaced; this is what happened in the case of the German *Lautverschiebung*. What are the reasons for change in a pattern, or patterns, of sound? The historical school of the nineteenth century gave as one of the most important reasons for sound-shift the contact between two populations with different ways of articulation, and the subsequent victory of one of these ways—or at least a compromise between the two; thus they would explain linguistic change by racial mixture. For example, the Romans who absorbed the Gaulish population of France were in their turn invaded by the Franks; the sound-shifts distinguishing French from Latin may be due in part to the Gaulish substratum, in part to the Frankish superstratum.

<sup>7</sup> On the phonological school, cf. Elise Richter, *Die neueren Sprachen*, XLI, 529; Pușcariu, *Études de linguistique roumaine* (Cluj-București, 1937); Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, 1939 (in *Travaux* . . .); Twadell, *On defining the phoneme* (Language Monographs, XVI, 1935) and the new journal *Acta linguistica* (issued first at Copenhagen, now at Geneva).



To exemplify the latter, we may consider von Wartburg's explanation:<sup>8</sup> according to him the tendency inherent in French to concentrate, with strong dynamic stress, on the tonic syllable, which entails the lengthening and diphthongization of vowels, the dropping of atonic vowels, the weakening of intervocalic consonants—all these changes ultimately go back to the heavy Germanic stress of the Franks. In this way change in accent, *anima vocis*, is made responsible for the various shifts in detail—and obviously this change of accent was due to the historical circumstance of racial mixture. As for the Gaulish remnants in French, Ascoli and others explained the shifts *u* > *ü*, *a* > *e*, *ct* > *it*, together with the phenomenon of nasalization and the loss of atonic vowels, as vestiges of the speech habits of the autochthonous Celtic population; it was thought possible to bring the first three sound-shifts in French under the one heading of palatalization. Meyer-Lübke (*Einführung*) took exception to Ascoli's *u* > *ü* theory, since (as is indicated by the Norse place-names to be found in France) this shift had not yet been achieved at the time when the Normans invaded France in the ninth century (accordingly this represents one of the most recent developments in pre-literary French), whereas the last vestiges of Gaulish as a spoken language in France date from the fifth century. Thus there was a gap of at least three centuries; the innovation in question appeared only 300 years after the Gaulish substratum had been completely assimilated.

"Language mixture," in the last third of the nineteenth century, served as the standard explanation of phonological change; indeed *Sprachmischung* was considered to represent the basic phenomenon in language<sup>9</sup>—after Schuchardt had observed it at work throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire where he lived, and also in the Creole languages. One also maintained that this phenomenon could be of a social nature, occurring within *one* nation: the influence of a socially distinguished group could explain the spread of a phonological shift. Did not the fashion of pronouncing a uvular *r* in Germany ultimately derive from the French *r* "grasseyé" heard at the eighteenth-century Prussian court, to spread ultimately throughout Germany thanks to the imposing social position enjoyed in this nation by the officers' corps? Moreover, the French grammarians of the sixteenth century had not failed to notice the exten-

<sup>8</sup> "Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume" (*Ztschr. f. rom. Spr.*, LVI seq.).

<sup>9</sup> Von Ettmayer, Schuchardt's pupil, later was to say (and rightly): "a man does not mix (languages), he speaks!" Protests against Schuchardt's conception have recently been voiced by H. L. Koppelman, "Ursachen des Lautwandels" (Leiden, 1939); cf. also my article on Ital. *piagnisteo* in *Arch. rom.*, 1940.

sion of the intervocalic  $r > z$  sound-shift, which originated with the "*mulierculae Parisinae . . . delicatulae*" (*mon mazi est à la porte de Pazy*);<sup>10</sup> in a country where woman had risen to a place of increasing importance from the sixteenth century on, this pronunciation, which seemed to have about it a flavor of refinement, came to be adopted by the male population. Today Norwegian grammarians have observed the same phonologic tendency in Oslo—again with the "*mulierculae*."

But there were also other attempts to explain sound-shift. Some theories appealed to a supposedly human tendency toward *Bequemlichkeit*, easy-goingness and relaxation—toward a minimum effort in pronunciation. But, if this was acceptable for explaining the so-called *sporadic* sound-shifts (assimilation, umlaut, etc.) as well as the weakening and dropping out of sounds, it was less so in those cases where *complicated* clusters developed out of simple sounds; when the gentle word *amore* (which, to Dante, seemed so consonant with its content) became, in Reto-romance dialects, *amukr*—this cannot be interpreted as a particularly convincing evidence of laxity in articulation. Indeed, such a tendency, unless checked by some opposing force, must inevitably lead to the total disintegration of human language as such.<sup>11</sup>

Again there were those who sought to follow a Montesquieuan trend of thought in admitting a direct influence of climate on phonology; today we quote as a joke the explanation that the blurred pronunciation of English was caused by the inhabitants' fear of inhaling the fog of their native land. But even in the subtler treatment of Father E. Schmidt and Koppelman (the latter spoke in terms of "out-door" and "in-door" languages)<sup>12</sup> the "climate"-theory has never been adequately proved.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Lerch, *Jahrbuch für Philologie*, I, 80.

<sup>11</sup> The same could be objected against Jespersen's principle of "progress" or "efficiency in linguistic change" (Copenhagen, 1941). If efficiency were the main explanation, why should not all languages become monosyllabic, even "monophonic"? Besides, the label "efficiency," as does also the essentially opposed "*Bequemlichkeit*," covers many particular attitudes: the shortening of hypocoristica (*Fred* for *Frederick*) is, according to Jespersen, due to "efficiency"; but it is also an imitation of baby-talk which cuts words down to monosyllables. Thus, what prompts at least the rise of monosyllabic names is not efficiency but affection, i.e., a feeling.

<sup>12</sup> More specifically he establishes three variations: "*Rufsprachen*," "*Dis-kretionssprachen*" and "*Intérieursprachen*." The first, which is intended to be heard over long distances (from cliff to cliff, etc.) is characterized by a preponderance of vowels; in the Hawaiian language whole sentences may consist exclusively of vowels: *ua, oia, ia*, etc. But in my native Vienna, one may hear sentences shaped as follows (I want to induce my visitor to stay a little longer by telling him "later on I'm going to have to leave, too"): *nacher far i a e ä* (*nachher fahre ich auch ehe [sowieso] ab*).

Still others had recourse to biological factors: Eugen Herzog<sup>13</sup> would make the sequence of generations responsible for sound-shift. But do not all normal children adequately learn the pronunciation of their elders? Nor has it ever been found that sound-shifts in general are the especial prerogative of adolescents. The Russian Roman Jakobson<sup>14</sup> has recently shown that the sound system of the child (of whatever nationality) builds itself up by stages: for instance *a* and the labials precede the development of *r*, *l*, and these in turn are followed by the more complicated *th*, *ts*; moreover, in the aphasic speech of the insane, the sounds tend to disintegrate in exactly the reverse order. However, to demonstrate the regularity with which complicated sounds develop out of those more simple is not to explain the tendency itself toward complexity: why complicate the sound patterns already at hand for the linguistic group? what induces a community to erect stumbling blocks for its own children, as the English have done with the sound *th*—which English children begin by pronouncing *f*, like any foreigner?<sup>15</sup>

Finally, the Dutch scholar van Ginneken, supported by such scholars as Brøndal and E. Lewy, offered a theory concerning *race* and sound-shift. In order to bridge the gap of three hundred years, to which Meyer-Lübke had called attention, between the dying out of the Gaulish language and the appearance of Fr. *u* > *ü*, he applied Mendel's law, according to which racial peculiarities may come out only generations later: there could indeed have been a three-centuries period of linguistic incubation, during which the inherited Gaulish tendency *u* > *ü* was able to "sich ausmenden." With such a theory we are in the midst of biological mysticism; at one point he says: "la base d'articulation des Israélites est un fait indéniable." But this is very deniable: if there may be found German Jews who pronounce *mechanisch* with the *-ach-*, not the *-ich-*sound, and with an "e muet" (as in *persent* for *Perzent*), this is conditioned by the teaching of Hebrews in Jewish communities (cf. Hebrew words

<sup>13</sup> *Streitfragen der romanischen Philologie* (Halle, 1904).

<sup>14</sup> "Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze" (*Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Uppsala Förhandlingar*, 1940-41).

<sup>15</sup> In *Revue des études basques*, XXV (1934), 353, I tried to show that the reason why the sound *č*, genuine in Spanish only in the middle of the word (Lat. *-lt-*, *-ct-* > *ch* in *mucho*, *noche*), has spread over to the initial position (*chaparrón*) and to the pet sound for terms of endearment or, alternatively, of imprecation (*Concha-diancho*) is its affective appeal alone. This emotional appeal explains also why foreign sounds (as inevitably introduced into any language by the loanwords, at least in the names of foreign localities or personalities) may take root and spread in the language. Citizenship may also be given to unusual sounds—first only in onomatopoeic words: for the Viennese *wišerln* "to urinate," the only word (except loan words from French, such as *bonjour*) with a *ž* sound in this dialect, cf. *Revue des études indo-européennes*, I.

with  $\ell$  and  $\chi$  + palatal vowel, i.e., by a cultural not by a racial factor.) Nor has the German of German Jews anything in common with the Spanish of Spanish Jews, for example: the one is mainly German, the other mainly Spanish;<sup>16</sup> and there is no common denominator. Even if the influence of race on language could be proved, we would still have no possibility of tracing this influence on any particular phonological development: if, after a racial mixture has been achieved, the expected sound-shift does not take place, van Ginneken will say that this is because *Ausmendelung* is still to bring it to light; and if after three centuries the sound-shift still fails to materialize, then van Ginneken will conclude that racial degeneration has taken place.<sup>17</sup>

Those theories which treat of linguistic change as a result of social mixture, speak only of innovation, and innovation undertaken for the purpose of improving one's social standing. I have never liked that psychology of man as a social climber who, for worldly success and out of pure vanity alone, is an innovator in his speech. Is it not possible that the conservative instinct itself may lead to innovation? Perhaps, I thought, man creates *because* he wants to preserve, because he wants to be a good, undistinguished member of the linguistic community to which he belongs. In this case the real problem would be to find out the reason why this original conservative intention becomes eventually thwarted.

While my thoughts were drifting along this line, I read the book of Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español* (1926)—this work which, so far, has been the only one to explain the rise of any Romance national civilization and tongue, and which could have been written only by a polyhistor with a gigantic power of

<sup>16</sup> Similarly, while Italian Jews are said to be recognizable by their un-Italian *r* (*grasseyé*), Spanish Jews, on the other hand, roll their *r*'s like any Spaniard. The main reason for the "separate" developments in Jewish languages all over the world is the (cultural) seclusion of these peoples, which is responsible for preservation of archaisms.

Somewhat different, it seems to me, is the linguistic effect of seclusion on the Negro population in the United States: along with archaism there may also be involved a kind of *préciosité* in reverse, an all too willing adoption of latent tendencies in the English of the whites which the Negroes carry too far, a hypercorrectness.

<sup>17</sup> For an excellent refutation of van Ginneken, cf. Koppelman's book; especially convincing, it seems to me, is the argument drawn from the "wave-theory": if it be true, for example, that the Sp. *f* > *h* development originated in the areas of Spain nearest to the Basque provinces, radiating southward therefrom (as Pidal has proved), then the different parts of Spain must originally have been conscious of their (Iberian) inheritance in various degrees—those in the northernmost regions more so than those in the southern; for these did not at first adopt *f* > *h*. In E. Glässer's "Einführung in die rassenkundliche Sprachforschung" (Heidelberg, 1939) the trick is used indiscriminately of ascribing to the racial factor what has been proved to be a cultural influence on language.

synthesis comparable to that of a Jakob Grimm. To understand Pidal's explanation of early diphthongization in Spanish and Romance, let us consider his treatment of open tonic *o* in Romance (*bonu*). In this sound there are two elements present: the *labial* character of the vowel, and its open, stressed quality. The Spaniard, of the eighth to tenth centuries, while uttering this vowel, concentrated his attention on these two elements separately, with the result that a split vowel was produced. And, in his attempt to pronounce a distinctly *labial* sound with the first, he overdid himself: the excessive effort resulted in muscular tension, and consequently, in a narrowing of the channel of the mouth; thereby the narrower, tenser vowel *u* was produced, giving the diphthong *uó*.

But, now that the labial quality of the vowel was sufficiently represented by the first element of the diphthong (*u*), there was a tendency to neglect the labial character of the second sound, and to concentrate simply on the second element: on stress and openness. A relaxation of labiality took place: *uó* developed into *ué* in Old Spanish and Old French; and in some Old Spanish and other Romance dialects we even find a *uá*. In all these compounds there is maintained the stress on the second, although now altered, part of the diphthong; on the one hand the speaking individual took care to pronounce a correct labial vowel (this explains the first exaggerated *u*); on the other, he wanted to pronounce a really open sound (this explains his relative indifference to the articulation of the second part of *uó*, *ué*, *uá*). What was the reason for this double blunder? According to Pidal it was the need for expressivity, the desire to pronounce correctly, orthodoxly—but *impressively*.

Although Pidal does not elaborate on this paradoxical, psychological attitude, his introduction of the conception of expressivity seemed to me a most felicitous one; later, in an article in *Mélanges Salverda de Grave* (1933), I stressed expressivity as a main factor in phonology and, in the same year, independently from me, the young Swiss Kaspar Rogger developed similar ideas in his treatise "Vom Wesen des Lautwandels."<sup>18</sup> In the example given by Pidal, a conservative concern for the right pronunciation has led to outright revolution: the tendency toward linguistic orthodoxy, to a chaos which would have seemed barbarous to Cicero's ear—as barbarous as the diphthong-ridden English or German languages may appear to an Italian, used to the clear, unblurred, unified sounds of the *bel canto* of his own tongue. Intent as the early Spaniard was on preserving a pure *ó*, he has introduced an innovation—a revolutionist *malgré lui*.

<sup>18</sup> In *Leipziger romanische Studien*, I (1933), 6.

But Pidal in his treatment of diphthongization failed to explain the *primordial* phenomenon involved: why, in fact, was one sound split into two (this is no necessary consequence of expressivity in itself); how was it that this one sound seemed to present two aspects, so that the speaker was led to tackle it in two instalments—his “split attention” resulting in a split vowel? This undoubtedly reflects the awkward waverings of a people who had lost an instinctively sure linguistic taste: a state brought about, to some extent, by racial mixture, but mainly by conditions of cultural unrest.

We are faced here with the fact that languages and dialects are, as Vossler has said, “styles,” ways of self-expression whereby a community manages to distinguish itself just as it may do in its literature, art, laws and institutions. It is interesting in this connection to note that while León and Aragon wavered longer between the different diphthongal developments *uo*, *ue*, *ua*, Castile settled relatively early (10<sup>th</sup> c.) on the one pronunciation *ue*—which then came to be imposed on the rest of the country as the standard; in other words, Castile found her own classic style earlier than did other areas—in linguistics as in poetry; the others remained true longer to an archaic and chaotic style of self-expression which, as a basic phenomenon, is common to the Romance languages, all of which in fact are characterized by the break which they wrought in the unity and order of the Latin vocalic system. The “style” of Romance self-expression is rooted in restlessness and anarchy; the Romance peoples had not primarily wanted to innovate: they desired to preserve speech habits. But they had become unsure of themselves, self-conscious.

To take a parallel from linguistic development today: Hitler regularly opens his speeches by addressing his fellow-Germans as *Deutsche Volksgenossen*—pronouncing this with the two short open *o*'s very close to *a*. And this personal sound-shift *o* > *a* represents for the linguist Hitler's personal reaction against the long closed *o* pronunciation usual in the popular German of his native Austria: *Völk*, *Genösse*. His *Volksgenossen* is in fact a hyper-correct pronunciation, influenced by his desire to speak good German. He is not trying to ape any one distinctive brand of German; he does not, for example, try to adopt the peculiarly Prussian pronunciation of *-g* as *-χ* (*der Tax*); he simply wants to speak pure German without traces of dialect. But the result is something which is neither dialect nor standard German, which betrays standard German while purporting to endorse it<sup>10</sup>—and which ultimately reveals a cultural

<sup>10</sup> The same conclusions may be drawn concerning his initial *d-*, and the *eu* diphthong, which are neither quite Austrian nor quite standard German.



uncertainty not far different from that mirrored in the linguistic behavior of the Spanish-Visigothic barbarians of an earlier age. This Hitlerian shift is the linguistic analogue to the Hypergermanism that underlies all of his doings: out of cultural weakness this  $\varphi > a$  becomes a whipped-up expression of the energy and austerity of a corporal: a real *parler gendarme* as the French would say. And it might well happen that, if Hitler were allowed to remain a national idol of Germany, the dominance with which he is invested, together with the levelling power of radio broadcasting would lead to his innovation becoming the phonologic law for the whole of Germany; and such an innovation, just as was true of those occurring in early Romance, would have been born out of a thwarted tendency toward conservatism.

Another example of overemphasis on orthodox pronunciation which leads to innovation and is prompted by a lack of cultural assurance: standard French has a short palatal *a* pronounced with the tongue slightly lifted toward the palate: *patte*, *Madame* (as opposed to the velar *a* in *pâte*, *âme*). An affected Parisian pronunciation of this palatal *a* leads to *e*: *petite*, *Médème*, *Péris*. This is a linguistic elegance of the uncultured, a kind of *préciosité* in reverse: the speaker wants to form a palatal *a*, but what comes out is an exaggerated *e*. It must not be thought that in this modern development there is a racially conditioned sound pattern at work; that we have to do with a repetition of the prehistoric  $a > e$  shift (*mare > mer*) which once took place in French; for, according to the observations of several scholars, made quite independently from each other, this  $a > e$  shift is to be found (in the same strata of society as in Paris) in various urban centers of Europe: in Copenhagen, The Hague, Prague, Istanbul. In this last city, I used to hear the newsboys calling out the evening paper *Akşam* with a most Parisian affectedness: *Ekşem*! With what gusto they seemed to twist their mouths to shape this sophisticated sound! Again we have to do with an innovation brought about by a desire to conform, to speak "naturally," and again this attempt fails, due to the impingement of cultural unrest; this *effort to be natural* which is met with today in the uprootedness of city life is itself, in a sense, unnatural. Now we can understand why the major sound shifts in Romania took place before the year 1000 A.D.: in the period of the greatest cultural upheavals.

In all three cases of sound-shift just mentioned, it is undeniably true that there has been a "climbing" trend; obviously, the urge for conformity, conformity with a norm, is a token of a striving toward an ideal. And an ideal always is above us, as was well known to

Dante, the creator of a *Vulgare Illustre* (which to his mind was doomed to be an ideal never reached by any dialect). But I believe that this striving toward the ideal, which is basic and permanent in man, is different from any occasional tendency toward social climbing.

Is this overemphasis on orthodoxy, so conducive to innovation, to be found in other fields of linguistic development? In semantics there are present the same two tendencies of conservatism and innovation, but the second, prompted by a desire to be impressive, undoubtedly is primary: regard for the accepted usage of the community acts rather as a check than as a creative motivating force.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> It is not impossible, however, that under certain circumstances, exactly the same motivation may apply to semantic as to phonological innovation:

During the first world war I was attached to the central bureau of censorship concerned with the correspondence of Italian prisoners of war in Austria. These had, quite naturally, been forbidden to write to their relatives in Italy that they were suffering hunger; consequently they made attempts to get this fact across in various periphrastic ways. The most effective, the orthodox, way to delude the censors would have been to insert, unobtrusively and once only, some common slang or dialect expression that would be unintelligible to the *Tedeschi* but clear to their people back home. But what they did in effect was to overindulge in periphrastic wording to an extent that had to arouse the suspicion of the censor. They were not content, for example, with a passing reference to *la spazzola* "the brush" (lit. "[you may as well give me] the brush [to brush off the crumbs] [there is nothing more to eat]"); a typical letter would read thus (v. my book, "Die Umschreibungen des Begriffes 'Hunger' im Italienischen," Halle, 1919):

Give my love to the barber Gregorio and to the pharmacist Antonio and also to *la signora Spazzola* of whom I dream every night. I feel her near, but am never able to see her; and she will not let me sleep because she is not satisfied. . . .

This prisoner wanted his letter to sound orthodox, but, obsessed with the idea of censorship, he became over-ingenious and his excessive efforts to conceal caused him to betray himself by his manifold references to *la signora Spazzola*. He was no longer capable of giving a light touch but became as clumsy as the good-hearted bear in the fable who, desiring to swat the fly on his master's forehead, killed the master along with the fly (indeed he even concludes his lyrical outburst by the advice: "have these words explained to you and you will understand"). In spite of his desire to stay within the bounds of conformity, he innovated stylistically, creating a Dante-esque vision, an allegory of the *Signora Spazzola*: out of a stock phrase grew poetry. It is as if the enjoyment of creativity overwhelmed this Italian private, and, giving rein to that delight in play and art with which the Italian people are endowed, he forgot about his own sad fate, and his practical purpose of communication (without detection), and came to think more of artistic expressivity. Now, expressivity obviously is enhanced by novelty: this Italian found *la spazzola*, after all, a trite paraphrase in the dull uniformity of his *sermo castrensis*, and, to restore new lustre to the phrase became more important for him than his original wish to be unobtrusive. As time went on, we were able to watch the dreary variations of this ghastly theme increasing in effusiveness and *préciosité*, in letters by all and sundry: "I have made the acquaintance of the lieutenants Spazzola, Magrini and Stecchetti"; "you say you want to send me a brush (*spazzola*) for my clothes: I don't need one: I have one with me, ever new, all the time; it is a nice *spazzola*"; "my health is good, but *la spazzola* works night and day, for there are many clothes to brush"; "we have the brush, but not the grease to shine it with." And finally *la Spazzola* emerges as a force of destiny: "*la spazzola* here sounds its dull grey notes."



And yet there is, paradoxically enough, something of conservatism even in the initial impulse to break with conservative usage: whereas in phonetic development there is an attempt to preserve the "perfect" sound, a semantic innovation seeks to preserve, or to restore, the original intensity of the *idea*—at the sacrifice of the verbal material.

Moreover in the field of semantics as in that of phonology the same cycle may be noted: first there is the period of creativity in which an individual innovation develops in expressivity, and expands; this period is followed in turn by one of standardization and petrification—which again brings about innovation and expressivity. Historical semantics offers us many parallels of the endless spiral movement in which words that have ceased to be expressive give way to others. The first word in Latin for "to put, place" was *facere*, parallel to Gr. *τίθημι*; this was replaced (in historical Latin) by *pōnere* [= *po-sinere*] which in its turn gave way to V.L. *mittere* (Fr. *mettre*); for *mettre* there was substituted in popular French the verb *bouter* (originally "to beat, slap") and this was duplicated by *ficher* "to stick" and its obscene companion-verb *foutre*.<sup>21</sup> The history of the Future tense from Indo-European to Modern French involves a comparable succession of changes: the use of the Latin Future *amabo* in the place of the Indo-European Present; the Romance *amare habeo* (Fr. *j'aimerai*); Modern French *je vais aimer*—or, the simple Present, as in *je pars demain* (which may be evidence of a new cycle). To both these illustrations of the alter-

<sup>21</sup> In the case of *mettre* replaced by *foutre*, one senses that into the pattern of "verb in *-tre*" was inserted *fou-*, as a suggestion of something more forceful. And even when the more refined would shun the use of this obscene word, it still shines through in such euphemisms as the infinitive *fiche* and the participle *fichu*—in which there is a reminder of *foutre-foutu* (cf. also dialectal *bouter*, after *foutre*). In such cases again the speaker is acting paradoxically: he conceals, and at the same time lets appear what he would conceal.

One might argue that in a semantic change such as *mettre* > *foutre* "to put" there is not the *conformism* that obtains in the "expressive" sound-change *ei* > *oi* (etc.); this is indeed a difference between semantic and sound change which will be pointed out later in the text. In order to maintain the *energy of a sound*, I may be allowed to go to the last extreme possible *within the orbit of what* can still be called an approximate sound—whereas in semantics, I can, by means of association, cover a far longer stretch. Originally, a *foutre* is a word independent from *mettre*, and the effect of the metaphor that is achieved lies in the really violent identification of "coïre" with "ponere"; the *ei* > *oi* development, on the other hand, implies no metaphoric procedure (*b pro a*), and no "violence."

With the semantic and metaphoric procedure involved in *mettre* > *foutre*, the speaker takes a daring step before the community—at least in the formative stage; the first time he says *foutre* for *mettre*, it is with an intonation suggestive of quotation-marks—as if, with this "punctuation" he would accomplish his duty toward the community ("you know, I am saying *foutre*, even though I know it is improper to say it").

nating tides of standardization and innovation in the flow of historic development, a parallel is offered in the *phonological* oscillation represented by *e* - *ei* - *oi* - *ué* - *uá*: as *ei* became trite, *oi* offered greater expressivity; as *oi* became standardized, *ué* was novelty, etc.

This inherent similarity between semantics and phonology, as regards the movement toward greater expressivity, is further borne out by the necessity, in either field, of a second factor in the period of creativity: once a semantic innovation creeps up somewhere (let us say under the influence of some linguistically creative individual), it will be quickly accepted *on condition that it suits the community*. Hans Sperber, in dealing with semantic innovation (in *Einführung in die Bedeutungslehre*, 1928), distinguishes between the "creative motive" and the "fixing factors": the former has need of the latter in order for the innovation to be ratified by the community. And the same is likewise true of phonological change: the "creative motive" responsible for the Hitlerian shift  $\varphi > a$  was probably simply his own personal desire to turn away from Austrian speech habits; but this pronunciation may well give an impression of military energy, and, if it should be imitated, this would be because of the type of ideal now (unfortunately) prevailing in Germany. Here we would have to do with the "fixing factor." Obviously, the possible development I suggest here is only a supposition on my part: it may happen in fact that the fixing factor I have postulated will prove unable to effect the development in question. And, as regards phonological shifts that became established centuries ago, it is even more difficult to separate the fixing factors from the creative motive. But it is nonetheless reasonable to infer that such factors must have been just as active as in semantics: why should millions of speaking individuals decide to adopt a given linguistic change unless this met some psychological need?

So far we have stressed the basic similarities in semantic and phonological change; in addition to the difference mentioned above, there are several others to be noted. In the first place, a phonological innovation is apt to be much less easily perceptible, since it develops very slowly; it took 500 years for the *uá* development to become standardized, and in 1000 years France has not been able completely to eradicate its *h aspiré* borrowed from the Franks (the Hitlerian shift mentioned is an exceptional case: in one bound he achieves what might have taken 500 years in the course of natural phonologic evolution). A newly coined word or expression, on the other hand, or a new application of an old word (viz., *ficher* replacing *mettre*) has an immediately recognizable distinction, is completely achieved the first time it is used. As regards phonological innovations, because

of the tenuous nature itself of such a change, and because of the fact that signs of this change will not be immediately indicated in written texts, it is impossible to observe the beginnings of a sound-shift; to attempt to do so would be as chimerical as to seek to discover the exact moment at which a child grows up.

In the second place, phonological shift is marked by a regularity that may never be predicated of semantic change. Both, of course, are subject to limitation: one could hardly replace a verb meaning "to put, lodge" by one meaning "to take away, dislodge"—nor could a Perfect take the place of a Future. But semantic development is beset by fewer restrictions than is phonological. While there are of course a number of possibilities for suggesting the acoustic effect of the sound *o* or *e*, the possibilities for producing a semantic effect are still more vast: the associations of meaning upon which the human mind may seize are innumerable, not enclosed within a narrow orbit, as are phonological associations. Consequently it has been impossible to discover any semantic patterns parallel to the sound patterns that have been found to exist: these have offered such regularity as to invite the establishment of a system of "phonetic laws." But no one has ever thought of offering a "semantic law." Hans Sperber has pointed out a slight analogy with the phonological law, in the tendency by which the word coinages of an epoch are colored by the prevalent idiosyncrasies or complexes,<sup>22</sup> but such tentative generalizations are a far cry from the rules of a *Lautverschiebung*.

As regards the paradigms of morphology (the declensions and conjugations; word-formations), these offer more similarity with phonological phenomena. Morphology is in fact a kind of frozen semantics, the "patterns" of which are fairly regular; moreover the paradigms resemble sound patterns also in their relatively strong resistance to change.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand morphology shows its kinship with semantics, in that morphological change is rooted in syntactical change (cf. the development of the future tense). This means that it is to be explained by reference to psychology; and, while the same must ultimately be true of phonological change as well, still, in our present state of knowledge, we are not able to isolate the psychological influence on phonological laws with the same assurance and precision that is possible in the case of semantics, syntax and morphology.

<sup>22</sup> For example in a war period, all words, *more or less*, may take on a warlike tinge; in an aesthetic-minded epoch such as the Renaissance, the creation of such words as "taste" abounds.

<sup>23</sup> We are all too prone to overemphasize change in our historical grammars; these tell us what has been changed, not what has been preserved—as, for example, that Fr. *il est - ils sont* still reflects an Indo-European morphological pattern, or that the *p-* and the *-r-* of *pater* remain in *père*.

Investigation into these fields reveals phenomena that appeal more directly and intimately to the human psyche than do those of phonology; and it is probably for this reason that positivistic linguistics has considered phonological phenomena to be the most *objective* manifestations of human speech—quite unconnected, indeed, with the human mind. It was with phonetics that what we call modern linguistics<sup>24</sup> began, and this historical procedure still betrays itself in the composition of our historical grammars: Volume I is regularly a *Lautlehre*; syntax is treated in the final volume; as for stylistics, this volume has usually remained unwritten. I would advocate, theoretically, the following order: first, an all-embracing stylistics (all historic change in language rests upon the urge to self-expression); next, syntax (which is stylistics grammaticised); then semantics and morphology. Only in the last volume would come phonology.<sup>25</sup> I am well aware, of course, that such a scheme may appear utopian; but the *difficulty* (which I would be the last to deny) of succeeding in practice in relating every sound-shift to stylistics (or even a particular sound-shift to a particular trait of style)<sup>26</sup> does not free us from the theoretical obligation of acknowledging the existence of this tie. Even if the calculations of Leverrier had not led in fact to the discovery of Neptune, they would still stand in their own right.

<sup>24</sup> The first attempts at a historical grammar which were not based on phonetics (Bopp, Raynouard, Grimm's first edition) would then not deserve this epithet.

<sup>25</sup> This is the reverse order of that chosen by Meyer-Lübke in his *Einführung* who bases his characteristics of morphology and syntax in Italian and French on, so to speak, a primordial and "taken for granted" phonetic development which, in itself, does not seem to need any explanation. Cf. my *Meisterwerke der roman. Sprachwissenschaft*, II, 346.

<sup>26</sup> If, for example, Schürr is right in his theory of Romance diphthongization by umlaut (this would be supported by the existence of an older layer of diphthongs before -i; cf. Fr. and Prov. *tiertz* = *tertius*), the stylistic explanation would have to be quite different from that prompted by the theory of Pidal's; in such a case the slovenliness of uncultured barbarians at the beginning of the Middle Ages would be responsible. But, in order for such a "negative" quality to be active in language it must have become a positive one; there would have to have been an "ideal" of slovenliness—just as, in the French Revolution, it was due to the rise of a new republican ideal that the originally plebeian pronunciation *ué* became officially endorsed, and *uê* became the shibboleth of reactionarism.

All this is not to say that in every case of diphthongization the same stylistic explanation must obtain; I myself have pointed out (*Bull. soc. ling.*, 1939) the particular diphthongization in American *good by-e-e* and other words as pronounced in a playful manner by women and implying a tacit understanding with the partner (consequently a split of attention leading to a split vowel); here, then, is a diphthongization born not of cultural unrest but, on the contrary, of a sure possession of the tool of language. One particular stylistic device can serve many purposes and, conversely, one stylistic intention can materialize in many linguistic embodiments.

But if we are to base the whole of linguistics on style, if it is really true that *nihil est in grammatica quod non fuerit in stylo*,<sup>27</sup> we may ask ourselves: what is the place of "style" in the scale of human values? If we heed the voice of Pascal, *style* is an ungodly thing: man has need of style, said this saint—who was a master of style and suasion—only because of his fall into sin, whereby he was bereft of the language of God; God needs no style in order to convince. According to his view, all our historical grammars of the nineteenth century, which have catalogued so carefully the vestiges of the manifold ways through which humanity has attempted to express itself—these, by virtue of exposing the very multiplicity of language-styles, would be only monuments to the effects of post-Adamic, Babylonian dispersal. Pascal, of course, was echoing the sentiment of Dante, as expressed in *De vulgari eloquentia*:

Cum igitur omnis nostra loquela, praeter illam homini primo concreatam a Deo, sit a nostro beneplacito reparata post confusionem illam, quae nil fuit aliud quam prioris oblivio, et homo sit instabilissimum atque variabilissimum animal, nec durabilis nec continua esse potest; sed sicut alia quae nostra sunt, puta mores et habitus, per locorum temporumque distantias variari oportet. Man, an unstable, shifting animal.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> I first advocated this thesis in *Die neueren Sprachen*, XXXII (1919), 323.

<sup>28</sup> The particular human imperfection which is implied in my paradoxical thesis of a hypertension of attention leading to innovation, is the lack of proportion in the application of this attention by the speaking individual, the poor coordination of man's speaking abilities to the purpose in hand—a kind of Hegelian *List der Idee*. The "Christian pessimism" of my theory (the frustration of good intentions) is far removed from the "idealistic" theory of Croce, for whom the imperfection of human speech (and, for him, speech is equal to poetry) is "no problem" (cf. K. Vossler, "Benedetto Croce's Sprachphilosophie" in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift fr. Literaturwiss. u. Geistesgesch.*, XIX, 123).

Georg Simmel, in his essay on "fashion" in the volume "Philosophische Kultur" (1911) writes as follows (this passage, p. 29, was called to my attention by Pedro Salinas):

Die Art, wie es uns gegeben ist, die Erscheinungen des Lebens aufzufassen, lässt uns an jedem Punkte des Daseins eine Mehrheit von Kräften fühlen, und zwar so, dass eine jede von diesen eigentlich über die wirkliche Erscheinung hinausstrebt, ihre Unendlichkeit an der anderen bricht und in blosser Spannkraft und Sehnsucht umgesetzt. In jedem Tun, auch dem erschöpfendsten und fruchtbarsten, fühlen wir irgend etwas, was noch nicht ganz zum Ausdruck gekommen ist. Indem dies durch die gegenseitige Einschränkung der aneinander stossenden Elemente geschieht, wird an ihrem Dualismus gerade die Einheit des Gesamtlebens offenbar.

Simmel sees in *fashion* the paradoxical clash of the two conflicting forces with which we have been dealing throughout this paper, self-distinction and conformism; moreover fashion, to him, may also be of a linguistic nature. While this perhaps could be said of the more ephemeral sound-shifts, viz. 16<sup>th</sup> c. Fr. *r* > *s*, I can not agree with the wholesale theory 'sound-shift = fashion' that is advocated by Jespersen and Sturtevant *et al.* (*Language*, XVI, 236).

Modern linguistics has the one merit of seeking to retrace the erratic course of this wanderer—exiled from Eden.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> My paper, based as it is on aesthetic and psychological considerations, will probably prove unpalatable to the anti-mentalistic school of linguistics. According to B. Bloch, *Language*, XVII, 351, "most American linguists probably agree with Bloomfield that a mentalistic approach to linguistic problems can only obscure the issue and 'short-circuit' inquiry." Just how the anti-mentalists would reduce the aesthetic factor in linguistics to a matter of "unofficial" private taste (— to the level, that is, of superstition, or some such inevitable residue of primitive human nature) is clearly brought out by the following lines of the same writer:

We can describe and codify the facts of language, and we can explain them within the framework of our science, by historical statements; to judge their usefulness or their beauty is to go outside that framework. This does not mean, of course, that a linguist is debarred by his profession from having opinions or tastes. In his unofficial [!] capacity as a human being and a user of language he can no more help [!] making judgments than anyone else.

The anti-mentalistic attitude has its origin in the fear of introducing "unknowns" into linguistics; it is no far cry from this attitude to that of denying the very existence of some basic factor of human speech because this factor is not easily traceable in detail; but, out of fear before the "unknown" that may be connected with a certain factor, to introduce the notion of its inexistence is to sin against the known, against knowledge itself. First one says: "let us not speak of the human mind because this would 'obscure our notions'"; later one behaves as though this human mind did not exist at all; this would be an anti-scientific, sophistical attitude; this is the attitude of this school of linguists who would prefer any mechanical and matter-of-fact explanation to a spiritual one. And to admit of a schism between the scholar-as-a-human being, and the "official scholar," as Bloch proposes, is to betray a lack of ambition toward the goal of a unification of human nature; it is a surrender to modern mental disintegration.

Ironically enough, the antimentalists seem to consider their pronunciamientos in favor of a fragmentary outlook on life to be the very paragon of scholarliness. Thus we learn by an authoritative statement of L. Bloomfield (*Language*, XIX, 170) that "philosophic passages have nothing to do in linguistic treatises"; they are "vestigial traits in culture," "shreds of medieval speculation"—whereas what is desirable is "rational and humane illumination." He does not seem to realize that such a statement itself constitutes a "philosophy" (albeit a very shallow decoction of eighteenth-century theories of the *philosophes*) and that a linguistic treatise based on this anti-philosophic philosophy is necessarily bound to be a mentalistic philosophy (of the Leonard Bloomfield brand of mentalism, of course). I surmise that the antimentalists can only afford to call themselves "unbiased by philosophy" because they suppose that what they ignore (or are ignorant of) can be eliminated at will and does not exist—in them, in spite of them.

In another passage (*Language*, XIX, 199) B. Bloch writes: "What 'mechanists' usually criticize in the work of 'mentalists' . . . is the circularity of their argument: the explanation of a linguistic fact by an assumed psychological process for which the only evidence is the fact to be explained." Such a statement betrays lack of familiarity with a current philosophical thought such as that expressed in Goethe's profound aphorism: "Das Höchste wäre zu begreifen daß alles Faktische schon Theorie ist." I suppose the antimentalists take it as a



'fact' that there are such things as 'Proto-Romance,' 'Germanic languages,' without realizing that these 'factual' expressions imply a theory, a speculation: indeed, there is here underlying the Goethian idea of the *Urpflanze* (an "unknown"!), a principle not present in any particular branch but unfolding in them all. Thus the anti-mentalists do not hesitate to accept the results of speculation (when these have become commonplace, mechanized 'speech-habits'); they accept the canned fruit but reject the live tree of speculation itself; they want to live on the *dead* residues of the past, not in the living present. And this school would be a school of the future?

Furthermore the above-mentioned passage contains a reference to the "circularity of reasoning" characteristic of the mentalists. It is as if Schleiermacher and Dilthey had never taught that the "philologischer Zirkelschluss" is the basic operation in the humanities: thus it was that Diez started with the observation (contrary to the assertion of Raynouard that Provençal was the mother language) that no one Romance language is reducible to another, and then proceeded to construct his 'Urpflanze,' the "unknown quantity" Proto-Romance = Vulgar Latin, finally concluding with the reverse procedure by which he verified his assumption that 'Vulgar Latin' as conceived by him, could explain all the Romance languages. Nothing is more orthodox than such "circular reasoning." Similarly, when I have observed what I call a 'stylistic fact' (which is already a 'speculation,' see above) in the language of a writer, I tentatively suggest a possible psychological root, in the writer, of this particular usage—later to test whether the assumed psychological root is able to explain other stylistic observations which may be made concerning his individual language. (It is hardly correct to say that 'the mentalists' base their psychological analysis on *one* fact alone.) There is the same circularity here as in the reasoning of Diez: both speculations are in fact based on the 'idea' of the organicity of development (the 'organism' of Vulgar Latin, 'the organism of the psyche of an individual writer'—both of which unfold). Of the two speculations, the bolder would seem to be the one of Diez! Thus, far from being a logical error, as Mr. Bloch believes, the circularity of argument is the main operation in sciences of the human mind.

The anti-mentalistic bias which pervades the publications of the Linguistic Society of America can be shown on nearly every page; I shall offer only one specimen. In dissertation no. 17, "The Neuter Plural in Vergil" (1934), J. F. Gummere seeks to prove by statistics that the use in Latin dactylic verse of the (nom. and acc.) plural of neuters is due to their greater metrical convenience; by analogy an "illogical" use of the plural in the place of the singular was brought about, and "the so-called 'poetic' plurals are merely [!] these illogical plurals." He cites lines 645 seq. of the *Aeneid*:

interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos  
conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit  
Dardanum, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.

It apparently satisfies the unpoetic mind of this writer ("Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst!") to see an *ultima ratio* in "metrical convenience"; this seems to him to be a *causa sui*, whereas the "poetic" qualities of vagueness, majesty, etc., are probably Hecuba to him. Any normal human being could analyze this mythologem of "metrical convenience"—which introduces an "unknown" (of mentalistic origin at that) much more detrimental to the understanding of the linguistic phenomenon in question (which is the basis of the Vulgar Latin and Romance morphological type *gaudia > joie*) than the legitimate, if difficult, question of its psychological and aesthetic radix.

A healthy opposition to undisciplined mentalism is to be welcomed, but here the opposition has developed into a wholesale negation of much of the finest thought in linguistic philosophy since Herder. What a cruel self-mutilation of the human mind!





## THE DOCUMENTATION OF VOLTAIRE'S *ALZIRE*

By MERLE L. PERKINS\*

The extent to which Voltaire documented his plays, novels and other works of imagination has long been a problem. Recent studies suggest that, as a rule, he gave many of them a background based on facts gathered from sources he considered to be authoritative.<sup>1</sup> The strangeness of the civilization presented in *Alzire* makes the problem of special interest in considering that play. Voltaire's correspondence during its composition (1734-1736) stresses the importance of the comparison of "mœurs," European with American. Did he study the "mœurs" of the Incas before writing the play or did he accept the stereotyped conception of them given by the earlier eighteenth-century writers of plays and ballets on the New World? Professor Gilbert Chinard supports the latter interpretation by citing Voltaire's statement in the *Discours Préliminaire* that the new play is "toute d'invention," and adds: "Je ne sais même pas si en changeant les noms, *Alzire* ne pourrait pas être tout aussi bien une pièce sur le siège de Grenade ou les partages de la Pologne."<sup>2</sup>

Evidence within the play suggests, on the other hand, that Voltaire did document *Alzire*. The date, 1525, given in a footnote<sup>3</sup> for the beginning of the conquest of Peru, is the date established by Zarate and later accepted by Garcilasso de la Vega. The fixing of the date by Voltaire indicates documentation from some source because the date of the beginning of the conquest of Peru is not a matter of common agreement even today. A preliminary effort had been made in 1522 by Pascual de Andagova; seven years were spent by Pizarro in preparing the conquest. The exact date was not a well-established fact which could have been known by Voltaire off-hand.

Zarate and Garcilasso each present an account of the destruction of the temple of Cusco. In *Alzire* (II, iv), Zamore speaks of it in this way:

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\* Mr. Perkins carried out this study as a Graduate Student in Brown University. Before the study was quite completed, he joined the Army Air Corps. Professor Harcourt Brown has been so good as to revise the paper and to supervise its publication.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. André Morize's edition of *Candide; ou l'Optimisme* (éd. critique, Paris, E. Droz, 1931) and that by Georges Ascoli of *Zadig; ou La Destinée, histoire orientale* (éd. critique, Paris, Hachette, 1929).

<sup>2</sup> Chinard: *L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1913), p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Voltaire: *Alzire ou les Américains* (Paris, Jean-Baptiste-Claude Bauche, 1736), p. 2, footnote 1. Voltaire's footnotes were revised and reduced in later editions.

On démolit ce temple et ces autels chéris,  
Où nos Dieux m'attendoient pour me nommer ton fils.<sup>4</sup>

That Voltaire is thinking of the temple of Cusco is shown by the footnote based on another line of the same speech: "Ces murs que du Soleil ont bâti les enfans." The footnote reads: "Les Péruviens, qui avaient leurs fables comme les peuples de notre continent, croyaient que leur premier Inca qui bâtit Cusco, était fils du Soleil."<sup>5</sup>

Other points suggest that Voltaire had studied the conquest of Peru before writing *Alzire*. He employs the words "Castillans" and "Espagnols" synonymously, using the former many times during the play. It is historical fact that the majority of Spaniards who took part in the Conquest were Castilians. Zarate was a Castilian and makes frequent reference to Castille. Voltaire's description of the character of the Indians of Peru, "ce peuple orgueilleux," "soumis au châiment, fier dans l'impunité," "farouche en sa simplicité," is sound. He understands that the Incas had an old and highly developed culture. In a footnote of the text, he says: "L'Astronomie, la géographie, la géométrie étaient cultivées au Pérou. On traçait des lignes sur des colonnes pour marquer les équinoxes et les solstices." Garcilasso gives information on these aspects of Incan civilization. At another time Zamore says: "Je vis tomber l'empire où régnaient mes ancêtres." *Alzire* speaks of "le redoutable empire des enfans du Soleil." These references suggest that Voltaire had studied Incan civilization and knew that its history was ancient.

Further proof of documentation may be found in these lines:

De la zone brûlante, et du Milieu du Monde,  
L'Astre du jour a vu ma course vagabonde,  
Jusqu'aux lieux où cessant d'éclairer nos climats  
Il ramène l'année, et revient sur ses pas.<sup>6</sup>

Thoughtful interpretation of these lines suggests that Voltaire used some source to check on Incan culture. Zamore measures the distance he has travelled by the distance the sun appears to travel in its passage from equinox (le milieu du monde) to solstice (aux lieux où cessant d'éclairer nos climats). The beginning of the (Peruvian) winter Solstice, June 22, when the sun reaches its greatest declination from the celestial equator, was the first day of the Incan year. After that date, the sun gradually swings back towards the equinoctial circle and, in the words of Zamore, "ramène l'année."

<sup>4</sup> *Alzire*, II. 515-516.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Alzire*, II. 360-363.

Thus Voltaire apparently documented *Alzire*. What were his sources? I have already mentioned the possible influence of Zarate and Garcilasso de la Vega. Comparison of the play with histories available to Voltaire produces some evidence to show that Voltaire found the background of "mœurs" for *Alzire* in Augustin de Zarate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*.<sup>7</sup> The influence of Garcilasso de la Vega's *Commentarios Reales*, often recognized as a source used by Voltaire in other passages on South America, here seems less important.

References to the customs of the Incas are taken from Zarate's history. On page four of the text (I, i) Gusman says:

Les Dieux même adorés dans ces climats affreux,  
S'ils ne sont teints de sang, n'obtiennent point de vœux.

A footnote by Voltaire on the same page reads: "Au Mexique et au Pérou on immolait des hommes à ce qu'on appelloit la Divinité." Zarate writes: "Ces peuples adorent comme des Dieux le Soleil et la Lune et les croient en effet des Divinitez. . . . Les Prêtres produisoient une Idole qu'ils mettoient au pied de ces mâts plantez en terre, et devant laquelle ils sacrifioient un Indien ou une brébis, oignans l'idole du sang de la Victime."<sup>8</sup> This information could not have been obtained from Garcilasso de la Vega, who distinguishes between the different ages of Indian history and denies that the Indians of his age made human sacrifices: "Bolviendo a los sacrificios, decimos, que los Incas no los tuvieron, no los consintieron hacer de Hombres, ò Niños . . . ,"<sup>9</sup> and again "y esto basta para que se crea, que no sacrificavan Hombres, Niños, ni Mugeres." Furthermore, Voltaire follows Zarate's statement that the Indians had many gods. Garcilasso denies this in his chapter "De muchos dioses, que los Historiadores Españoles impropriamente aplican a los Indios."<sup>10</sup>

Voltaire's explanation of the word "cacique" gives evidence of documentation from Zarate. In a footnote to the text of *Alzire*,

<sup>7</sup> This work was first published in Antwerp, 1555; a French translation, *Histoire de la Découverte et de la Conquête du Pérou*, by "S. D. C." appeared at Amsterdam in 1700, and was reprinted in Paris in 1706, 1716 (twice), 1742, 1774, and 1830, and in Amsterdam in 1717 and 1719. We quote from the Amsterdam edition of 1717, published in 2 volumes, 12mo, by J. Louis de Lorme. G. R. Havens and N. L. Torrey list a copy of the two-volume Amsterdam edition of 1717 in their "Voltaire's Books: a Selected List" (*Modern Philology*, XXVII [1929], 1-22), as present in the collection in Leningrad.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 54. A plate opposite p. 54 illustrates the sacrifice realistically.

<sup>9</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega: *Commentarios Reales* (Madrid, Oficina Real y à Costa de Nicholas Rodriguez Franco [1723]), p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

page 15, Voltaire writes: "Le mot propre est Inca; mais les Espagnols accoutumés, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, au titre de Cacique, le donnèrent d'abord à tous les Souverains du Nouveau Monde." In Zarate's history, the chapter entitled, "De l'origine des Rois du Pérou qu'on appelle Yngas dans la Langue du Pais" explains the use of the word "cacique" in the same way, saying "Il faut remarquer là-dessus que les Espagnols qui allèrent à la Conquête du Pérou, étoient accoutuméz, à nommer les choses générales et communes des mêmes noms dont on se servait pour les signifier dans les Iles de Saint-Domingue, de Saint-Jean, de Cuba, et dans la terre ferme."<sup>11</sup> Garcilasso does not give this information.

For these reasons, it seems certain that Voltaire documented *Alzire*. Some of the information could have been taken from either Zarate's history or Garcilasso. But in various cases, as I have pointed out, Voltaire uses information from Zarate which is contradicted or omitted by Garcilasso.

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<sup>11</sup> Zarate, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL BIOGRAPHY

By JOSIAH C. RUSSELL

Although the study of the problems of medieval biography is a very old subject, it has proceeded in a rather haphazard fashion. In the English field the best general survey is still Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, a magnificent work incorporating the best of eighteenth-century scholarly methods.<sup>1</sup> In other countries the situation is hardly better. For individual writers and even for certain groups of writers modern studies exist, but even these usually suffer from the lack of a systematic survey of the problems. This study is a tentative move to point out the methods which should be examined as an introduction to developing satisfactory techniques for handling medieval biographical problems. It is the result of research upon the writers of thirteenth-century England,<sup>2</sup> but the research overlapped, chronologically, parts of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and, geographically, some of the continent. As a result, the study touched many of the problems common to the later Middle Ages.

The problems concern the choice of the topic for research, the use of modern scholarly work, the mastery of the bibliographical tradition, and the handling of medieval evidence. The use of modern scholarly writings has been made easier by excellent bibliographies, now available, which are too well known to mention. Some attention will be given to the problems of the choice of topics and to bibliographical tradition. However, the medieval evidence will to the center of interest. First of all, the question of authorship should be scrutinized carefully, since references connecting a name with a writing may merely indicate ownership or relationship other than that of author to the work. Then comes the problem of identifying or of distinguishing the authors from persons of the same names appearing in documents or other sources. Finally, there is the question of the amount and type of limitation imposed upon a knowledge of the writers' lives by the data available about them.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by D. Wilkins, London, 1748.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936). Biennial supplements, published in even numbered years in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, keep the material as up to date as possible. The first two are in volumes XVI (1938), 48-50 and XVIII (1940), 40-2. All references in this article are to the appropriate biography in the *Dictionary* unless otherwise stated.

## I

In the selection of topics for research, two types of approach to the study of writers have been tried: the study of a large and homogeneous group, and the study of individual writers. In the first category are the studies of all writers of medieval England or all Franciscans; and in the second, the biographies of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Tanner probably has made the most effective use of the first method in the work already mentioned. Each has its own advantages.

Obviously, more attention can be concentrated upon the life and work of one person, especially if he was a very prolific writer,<sup>3</sup> than upon several writers, but the advantage largely ends here. The disappointing advances made by the *Dictionary of National Biography* over Tanner show the inferiority of the approach by way of single writers. Tanner's method avoided duplication of effort in searching sources and enabled him to use his knowledge of the whole field in the solution of the problems of each author. The disadvantages of his method are largely those caused by limitations of memory and time. Few people can carry in mind (and it is practically impossible to do it otherwise) data about the authors of several centuries, and the vastness of the sources of the period makes such an attempt a tremendous task.

Probably the most effective method is a modification of Tanner's method by limiting the study to the writers of a group convenient for sources or time, or both. This method has been tried by Dr. Little for the Franciscan educational leaders at Oxford in the thirteenth century with very happy results.<sup>4</sup> The writers of thirteenth-century England also made a good group. The examination of almost any collection of documents which might contain names of the writers usually turned up references to them in sufficient numbers to make the search both worth while and interesting. Thus, if one intends to pursue a systematic examination of any considerable body of sources, he may as well look for several persons as for one.

The problem of the limits of the group chosen for study enters as one faces the problem of including or excluding certain writers. If one neglects it, or fails to make the limits clear, he lays his work open to easy criticism by reviewers. In determining the authors to be included one should remember that readers will seek information

<sup>3</sup> The recently published *Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* by S. H. Thomson (Cambridge, 1940) was well worth the large effort spent in research upon them.

<sup>4</sup> A. G. Little, "Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XIX (1926), 803-74.

about all who wrote or are said to have written in the time and area selected. Thus authors wrongly included in the group in the past should be mentioned for exclusion if for no other reason. In the case of the *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England*, I tried to include all writers (except chroniclers) who wrote in thirteenth-century England. I included authors of chronicles, unless they were primarily of the twelfth century and stopped before 1210, or were largely of the fourteenth century and went beyond 1310. Even selecting such limits, the bibliographer finds exceedingly difficult items. No one will be entirely satisfied.

## II

For organizing a list of medieval writers, the most obvious source of information is the long series of bibliographers available for nearly every country. England, for instance, has Boston of Bury, Leland, Bale, Pits, Oudin, Fabricius, Tanner, Wright, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, among others. If one follows one author through them and finds much the same story, he is apt to be impressed by the sheer accumulation of authority. Yet too frequently the bibliographers tell the same story because they have copied from previous bibliographers, and the story has only the authority of the first account. A glance at the accounts of the cases of "Alexander of St. Albans" and of "William of Ramsey" will show how little credence bibliographical tradition sometimes deserves.<sup>5</sup>

Except for Boston of Bury, the earliest of the bibliographers of England's writers lived in the sixteenth century. Since they had little encyclopedic assistance from the Middle Ages,<sup>6</sup> they had to collect their information from surviving sources. Because the dissolution of the monasteries had been preceded by the decline of monastic libraries and intellectual interests in the fifteenth century,<sup>7</sup> even the continuity of literary tradition had been disturbed. The sixteenth-century bibliographers largely determined the reputation of medieval writers for centuries, since later bibliographers, while modifying or adding to accounts, seldom altered them radically.

<sup>5</sup> F. M. Powicke, "Alexander of St. Albans, a Literary Muddle," *Essays presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 246-60; J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches relating to England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 13-4.

<sup>6</sup> The late medieval list given by Boston of Bury is published by Tanner as an introduction. A valuable list of writings of Dominicans who were at Paris has been published in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, II (1886), 237-9.

<sup>7</sup> For evidence of this see the introductions to the library catalogues of various Cambridge colleges prepared by M. R. James.



For medieval England, the three most active bibliographers were Leland, Bale, and Tanner. Since Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* includes Leland's finished account and mentions Bale's additions, it offers a most convenient introduction to bibliographical tradition. Leland's information in its original form most often appears in his *Collectanea* and occasionally in his *Itineraria*,<sup>8</sup> while Bale's sources may usually be found in his *Notebook*.<sup>9</sup> By checking in these works, one may often locate the point of entry of information into bibliographical tradition.

These bibliographers report much which can be verified in extant sources and preserve some evidence from lost manuscripts of great value. However, one practice, the results of which should be the subject of most careful examination, was to use evidence, actual or assumed, about the lives of the writers to enlarge the list of writings of authors,<sup>10</sup> and, conversely, to use their knowledge of writings as the basis for assumptions about the education and lives of the writers. This was a common failing of John Bale.

### III

Bibliographical tradition has usually presented the biography of a writer before the list of his writings, an order which may easily create the impression that the authorship was more certain than it really is. It may even lead to research upon the biography of a writer which is unnecessary if the claims of authorship prove to be mistaken. Thus it seems best to take up first the question of authorship, a question which often involves bibliographical tradition, various forms of medieval notations which may indicate authorship, and other types of evidence supplying clues. Medieval writers had no strong sense of the desirability of preserving evidence of their authorship.

Much of the information about authorship comes from titles or colophons written upon manuscripts. It varies enormously in accu-

<sup>8</sup> These collections were seen in manuscript before publication. The *Collectanea* were published at Oxford in 1709, and again with the notes of T. Hearne in 1770 (*Antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*). The *Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary* was published at Oxford in 1745, and again, by L. T. Smith, in 1907 ff.

<sup>9</sup> John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson (Oxford, 1902). From his notebook Bale largely compiled his *Scriptorum Illustrum Maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant*, etc. (Basel, 1619).

<sup>10</sup> The pieces attributed to John, Abbot of Ford, without indications of source of information seem probably guesses based upon his association with King John and his other literary efforts. The works attributed to Alexander of Stavensby are probably conjectures based upon an item in Trevet's chronicle about him as a teacher at Bologna and commentator upon a verse of the Psalms (*Trivetii Annales*, ed. T. Hog [London, 1845], p. 224).

racy, from the poorest guesses to authentic data. In general, contemporary attributions are better than those of later date, especially of the sixteenth century, which may be only the conjectures of bibliographical tradition mentioned earlier. At least two important problems occur: the exact meaning of terms used in the notations, and the choice among two or more attributions to authors.

The following notations appearing on thirteenth-century manuscripts have been considered evidence of authorship.

Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria.  
Per magistrum Elyam de Trikingham.  
Tractatus super canonem misse Thome de Stureya.

One must reject the very convincing evidence that *memoriale* usually signified a gift before he can believe that Walter was author of the chronicle upon which his name appears.<sup>11</sup> In addition to being the donor, and possibly the scribe of the manuscript, he may, if the scribe, have been sufficiently original to be considered an author, but that would be pure conjecture. Elias of Trikingham's name appears upon several books in the form given above, some of which are far older than he. *Per* apparently signifies a gift also. The genitive case may as easily indicate ownership as authorship, and, in the case of Thomas of Sturey, probably identifies one of the large collection of books which he gave to Christchurch, Canterbury. Thus words appearing upon manuscripts should be compared with similar phrases of the period and place to determine their meaning.

In the case of multiple attributions, an old rule but a good one is to prefer the less known writer. Thus a treatise attributed to both Stephen Langton and his less celebrated brother, Simon, should probably be assigned to Simon, if all other indications be uncertain. The reason for this rule is that the tendency to correct is from the less known to the better known. Textual criticism applies the same test in preferring the less common version in the case of two readings. Yet sometimes the less common form may have been the result of misunderstanding the original. In a brilliant bit of erudition, Denholm-Young showed that the word "Cumselz" might have been the result of misreading an abbreviated form of "Eversley," and from this exposition identified Geoffrey of Cumselz with Geoffrey of Eversley. The forms of "Avranches" in an early library catalogue of Peterborough Abbey (Hariench, Hamerincham, Davench) possibly indicate a misunderstanding of bad spelling on the part of the cataloguer.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Sometimes it might mean a pledge, particularly if the phrase ran, "*Memoriale . . . pro . . .*" *Cambridge Historical Journal*, VI (1938), 104.

<sup>12</sup> Russell and Heironimus, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6. "Davench" appears in Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

When the evidence of authorship comes from the writings themselves, the problems are somewhat different. Occasionally lists of writings give information about a man's production, such as the long list of Gerald of Wales' *Opera*<sup>13</sup> or the shorter lists of John of Garland. Direct evidence is sometimes provided by the inclusion of the author's name in his work<sup>14</sup> or by the use of acrostics, of which medieval writers were fond.<sup>15</sup> Anglo-Norman writers were more inclined to include their names than the Latin, probably because they tended to share in the troubador tradition in which literature had a financial value. For the same reason, Henry of Avranches, essentially a court poet, placed his name in some of his poems.<sup>16</sup>

Occasionally contemporary literary customs offer clues to authorship. A clerk, writing out a charter, usually placed his name at the end of the list of witnesses, even though he had social precedence over some of the other witnesses.<sup>17</sup> A relapse on the part of a writer into this habit might be a hint of importance. In the unique *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, after listing several names of persons clearly inferior in dignity to monastic officials, the author wrote, "Clement the Almoner and others," exactly as a scribe concluding a charter might have done. This entry tends to show that Clement was the author. Similarly, the name, Alan de Wakerfeld, appearing at the end of lists of Franciscans present in 1269 at an Oxford controversy with the Dominicans, even though he seems to have taken a prominent part in the controversy, would suggest Alan as the author. Henry of Avranches' habit of gradually changing the concluding lines of his poems permitted an identification of some of his poems and the setting up of a chronology of the group.<sup>18</sup>

The chroniclers of medieval England seem to have been somewhat autobiographical. In the thirteenth century, Adam of Domesham, Arnold Fitzthedmar, Gregory of Kaerwent, Joscelin of Brake-lond, Matthew Paris, Thomas of Marlborough, and Thomas de Musca included items about themselves in their work. Thus the appearance of biographical details creates a strong presumption of authorship, as in the cases of P, monk of Lewes, Thomas of Kid-

<sup>13</sup> *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (Rolls Series), III, 372-3. The list is incomplete.

<sup>14</sup> As Gervase of Melkeley, among others, did.

<sup>15</sup> Roger Infans of Hereford, Thomas de Musca, William de Hedon, Simon du Fresne.

<sup>16</sup> Russell and Heironimus, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 11.

<sup>17</sup> For the process of charter witnessing see my "Attestation of Charters in the Reign of John," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 480-98.

<sup>18</sup> Russell and Heironimus, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, 159-60.

derminster, and John of Taxster.<sup>19</sup> The problem of authorship of chronicles is difficult to separate from the question of copying or even owning the manuscript of a chronicle. A chronicle tended to be of the class of literature of the diary, a highly personal document of one's house or countryside, if not of one's self.<sup>20</sup> Since chronicles were continued usually from other chronicles, the amount of additions or rearrangements necessary to raise the copyist to the author class is debatable.

Many, probably most, of the monastic chroniclers, were *officiales* of their houses and occasionally reveal in their writings activities by which they may be identified. Richard de Mores, prior of Dunstable, was shown to have been the author of the Dunstable chronicle in this way. More frequently the chroniclers were sacristans; Bury St. Edmunds even had a *Gesta Sacristarum*. Probably the annals of Worcester were composed of a similar compilation; in it the work of two sacristans, W. de Bradewas and Nicholas of Norton, seems clear. A sacrist of Christchurch, Canterbury, Guido de Walda, continued the work of an earlier sacristan, Gervase, and also wrote part of the annals of Dover. Adam of Domerham, Geoffrey of Coldingham, and Thomas of Marlborough also held similar offices.

Much of medieval literature was written for patronage since that was, in the absence of a wide reading public, the method of making authorship pay. When the patron's name is given, although the author's name is omitted, an easy assumption is that the author was closely associated with the patron. The career of Henry of Avranches is illustrative of this. Because he wrote lives of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Hugh of Lincoln and dedicated works to an abbot of Croyland and a queen of England, it has been suggested by some (who did not know the author of the pieces) that he was a Franciscan, a member of the chapter at Lincoln, a monk of Croyland, and a monk of Westminster. In reality, he was just a wandering clerk with a natural talent for versification, who presented to patrons what he hoped would bring ample rewards. The better the literature, the less likely it was to have been written by local writers and the more likely to have been the work of the few semi-professional writers of the time.

<sup>19</sup> An "N. de N." may possibly be the author of the unprinted annals of Hagheby in the British Museum MS. *Cotton, Vesp. B xi*, fols. 1-61v. The "N." (fol. 22v) ought to represent "Nicholas," the only common name with that initial. To judge from the prominence of the Neville family, which was a prominent feudal family, and the author's interest in feudal society, his surname might well have been "Neville."

<sup>20</sup> These comments have already been made in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XVI (1938), 48.

It is obvious that criticism should be thorough, but sometimes skepticism is carried too far. Take, for instance, the letters prefacing the curious forgery of the Croyland chronicle fathered upon Peter of Blois. In the first letter, the abbot of Croyland, Henry Longchamp, requests Peter to write a *Life of St. Guthlac* and also a chronicle; in the second, Peter agrees to do both. The "life" remains, dedicated to Abbot Henry, and an early chronicle of another monastery says that he wrote it. Since the chronicle is clearly a forgery, the introductory letters have been viewed askance *in toto*. Yet it would seem that the first half of each letter is authentic; the forger merely added paragraphs to each letter in order to give the forgery the appearance of authority. The picture of the abbot as a literary patron and of Peter as a writer for patronage accords with the careers of the two men.<sup>21</sup>

Other approaches to identification of authorship exist; for instance, one might test by similarity of style. But those dealt with above are sufficient to show many of the possibilities. The next step is to identify names of authors with names of persons appearing in other sources.

After the evidence about authorship has been sifted, the resulting information usually takes the form of a Christian name plus some other designation, such as a town, a profession, an office, or a nickname. In identifying authors with persons of the same name, one needs a knowledge of customs regarding the use of names by contemporaries, of the frequency of names among the authors, and of the groups from which the authors come, in order that some degree of probability of identification may be established.

In medieval England by the middle of the twelfth century a man usually had two names. The only stable name was the Christian name, to which, of course, the index should refer.<sup>22</sup> The idea of a family name developed but slowly. At first, the second name was merely a better designation than the single name alone; it named the father or other ancestor, the town from which the man came, his occupation or that of his father, his nickname, the title of his office, or some other distinguishing phrase. Thus we find two Master Alexanders of St. Albans in the early years of thirteenth-century England. One was Alexander Nequam, canon and abbot of Cirencester. The other (called Alexander Nequior by a St. Albans chronicler, who could not resist the pun) was termed *filius Cementarii*

<sup>21</sup> Russell and Heironimus, *op. cit.* pp. 106-8.

<sup>22</sup> In view of much poor indexing of medieval names, it is pleasant to recall the splendid index to Professor Stenton's *Documents Illustrative of the Danelaw*, indexed to the Christian name with cross references to other names.

or *dictus Cementarii*. In the last two terms we have the element of a family name appearing.

An important factor in identification is the relative frequency of names. Of the Christian names, we notice that about a fourth of the writers were called William (46) and John (39), a second fourth were called Robert (22), Thomas (22), Richard (20), and Peter (20), a third fourth had the names Adam (11), Henry (11), Walter (10), Simon (10), Ralph (9), Hugh (9), Nicholas (9) and Roger (8), and the last fourth had over thirty different names. The list is a rather modern one and quite short. In even the small towns, there were many Williams and Johns. It is clear that, if we know only that a man's name was Master William or Master John, the chances of identifying him are small, but that, if a rarer name is at issue, the problem is simpler. For instance, although a number of reasons have been presented for identifying Dionysius, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, with the Romance writer, Denis Piramus, the best argument would seem to be the rarity of the name in late twelfth-century England.<sup>23</sup>

Since the authors were nearly all clerks and thus tended to be migratory, the second name was usually that of a town. For identification, the size of the town is of some importance. There will be many Williams and Johns of London, but few masters bearing the names of William or John of the little places, such as Oxnead and Bonkes. In the boroughs, the names of towns tended to be lost because occupational and other names took their places. Thus we have Geoffrey Chaucer rather than Geoffrey of the town of his family's origin. Bishop Stubbs once argued convincingly that monks would not be called by the name of their monastery and that "Walter of Coventry" could not have been a monk of Coventry. However, instances of monks bearing the name of the monastery do appear; Simon and William of Coggeshall, monks of Coggeshall, for instance.<sup>24</sup>

In dealing with identifications, one often has the possibility of scribal variations of the same name, since the clerk, converting vernacular names into Latin, may have given either a translation of the meaning of the name or have tried to reproduce its sound. For instance, the name of the great bishop of Lincoln appears as "Grosseteste" or "Grossecapite" (using the ablative charter witness form). Evidently the vernacular was the Anglo-Norman "Gros-teste." Or take the curious name of a London family, whose Latin

<sup>23</sup> *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 345, 559.

<sup>24</sup> *Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 112v. This is now published by the Canterbury and York Society.

translation is "Bucca Uncta" but which the clerks also render as Bucuinte, Buckinta, Bucheunta, Bocuinte and Bucunta, to list a few. The translation shows that the name meant "oily mouth." The other forms would indicate that the vernacular was more probably Italian than the possible French or Anglo-Norman.<sup>25</sup>

The problem may have a paleographical angle. The name of the chronicler and prior of Dunstable usually called "Richard de Morins" appears elsewhere as "Richard de Mores." In view of this, it seems probable that the one reading which has given him his usual name should have been read "de Morius"; the letters *u* and *n* were practically indistinguishable in the manuscripts at that time. Another case is that of John de "Sampis." The original may have been simply "Samp," an abbreviation for either Sampford or Sampson. A third case is that of an abbreviation of "sermonum fol. 7," which a misreading changed into an author, "S. Fokes."<sup>26</sup>

When one is certain that a writer held a certain office at a particular time, the problem of identification is one of the easiest. The lists of holders of offices are relatively well known; Le Neve's *Fasti* and Dugdale's *Monasticon* offer much evidence about the higher clergy, secular and regular. If the actual dates of tenure are not known, they can often be estimated by times of appearance of predecessors and successors. Thus McNulty has worked out the decade which Stephen of Easton served as abbot of Sallay as 1224-33.<sup>27</sup> Episcopal registers frequently show the time of demise or of resignation of writers. One can be fairly certain that Richard of Stavensby, for instance, entered the Dominican order shortly after resigning his benefices in 1232. The problem of identification is occasionally complicated because successive holders of offices have the same initial or even the same Christian name, since the initial or name is frequently given alone with the title. The two Adams, abbots of Dore, illustrate this problem. When one turns to those who held less distinctive offices, the problem becomes more difficult.

Examining the records of the group of 300 writers, one finds that about 130 are known to have been masters. One hundred others were members of various religious orders. But few can be

<sup>25</sup> In view of this possibility, the suggestion that the name was a nickname indicating that the family were of a "Tammany type of politician" and that it "has been assumed for no reason to have been Italian" is very doubtful, *Speculum*, XI (1936), 467. Many references to the family appear in the *Historical Manuscript Commission*, Ninth Report, appendix.

<sup>26</sup> Fortunately, Mr. Cheney noted the mistake in his review in *English Historical Review*, LII (1937), 693.

<sup>27</sup> *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey . . . of Sallay*, ed. J. McNulty, II, 192-3, and literature cited there.



shown to have been neither a master nor a regular; they were virtually all clerks. Concerning the others, nothing is known of their status; many of them as well as many of the religious may have been masters. At least 45 of the regulars were certainly masters. In the documents the title "master" is usually given if it is possessed, and, similarly, it was customary to designate a canon, monk, or friar as a regular. In the many documents in which the name of the early thirteenth-century archdeacon of Oxford, John of St. Giles, appears, I have found only one instance in which he was called a master. This simplifies identification considerably. Roger Bacon, to take one illustration, was a very common name in thirteenth-century England, but, since the famous scientist was a friar, references to him are not hard to separate from the others. Research is also simplified, since documents, which include groups such as peasants and knights, in which writers seldom appear, may be omitted without any appreciable loss of data about the writers. References to the writers occur most abundantly in documents from episcopal sees, universities, and the king's court—places where clerks tended to congregate.

In estimating the degree of exactness of identification, personal opinions will vary considerably. One can be certain in identifying a writer who is known to have held an office with a person of the name holding the office at the same time. I have not felt it necessary to question the identification of a writer with a master of the same name if either element of the name was quite rare, unless other evidence discouraged this identification. With less rare names, such as Master John Blund and Master Alexander of St. Albans, "probably" would be a reasonable guess for the thirteenth century, but there were pairs of contemporaries of those names. With very common names, such as John or William of London, the clue should certainly be confirmed by other evidence.

These problems of identification have been discussed as if they could be separated from the pattern of the lives of the writers, and many of them can be solved with a considerable degree of certainty. Yet, in some cases, the problems are relatively complicated, and some help is gained if one understands what might be called the general pattern of the lives of the writers. In nearly every age, groups do have their patterns of activities through which their members pass with some degree of regularity.

## V

The student of biography has, of course, his hopes about the information which he should like to have in regard to the medieval writers. He would like to know the authors' birthplaces, parentage,

education, offices, friends, libraries, and other influences and associations. Yet medieval evidence often limits biographical information sharply. Unless a writer was a saint, little would be known of his childhood, and unless he held important positions, not much even about his adult life. Few men were autobiographically inclined. We are grateful to such writers as Joscelin de Brakelond and Gerald of Wales, who thought that their actions were worthy of record. The data are very uneven for various phases of life: few records of birth but many of death; little data about elementary education, much about university careers; and so on. For lesser persons very little often remains. Since nearly all of the writers were clerks, the problems of information about their careers are much like those of the other clergy of the period.

The location of the place of an author's early life has usually had important effects upon his literary career and therefore forms an interesting and essential part of his biography. In the thirteenth century, most of the writers had place names as the second element of their names. In some instances, notably of Edmund and Robert of Abingdon, Alexander Neckam and John of St. Albans, and Richard de Wicio (Droitwich), the place name was the place of the writer's birth or early life. Simon de Gand came from London; with him "Gand" was already a patronymic. In general, it would seem that "probably" could be applied to the suggestion that the place name represented the place of birth or early residence.

Even less information appears in regard to the primary schooling of the writers. Alexander Neckam studied at St. Albans in a secular school of which the monastery was patron, but this fact seems to be the sole item of reliable information. Since Joscelin de Brakelond entered Bury St. Edmunds very young, he may have studied in a novice school there, although the evidence is not too strong. John of Peckam is thought to have been assisted in his education by Lewes Priory, so kindly did he speak of the monks at a later date. One may be certain that they did have elementary schooling, knowing that there were many such schools,<sup>28</sup> but the evidence of their influence must be found indirectly in the quality of their writing.

Higher education can be traced more easily, since the records and recollections of the writers are more detailed here. Nearly fifty writers are known to have studied or taught at Oxford, while five more were probably there. Thirty-five, and probably three more,

<sup>28</sup> A. W. Perry, *Education in England in the Middle Ages* (London, 1920); A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1916), *Educational Charters and Documents* (Cambridge, 1911).

certainly went to Paris. A few can be shown to have gone to Cambridge, and a scattering to Montpellier and Bologna, while one strayed as far as Athens. The great attraction of Oxford and Paris is clear. In regard to university careers, the problem of drawing the line between periods of study and of teaching is so difficult that it seems best not to try to separate them.

The medieval student, as well as the modern, had to face the choice of his career and usually made his decision in his early manhood. In the absence of a reading public, individual and monastic patronage was the usual source of reward for literary effort, and, unless the writer entered the Church, the reward was not great. Perhaps the best illustration of one who wrote for his living was Henry of Avranches, whose many patrons of importance enable us to follow his career rather better than for most of such writers. Yet he had his lean years, and, at best, his income was not large. The condition of the lesser writers, hazy figures, often known only by their Christian names, was worse. Only hardy souls with a certain irresponsibility would have chosen the hard way of secular literature in the thirteenth century.

Writing was often associated with teaching then as now, but even at the universities teaching seldom brought substantial rewards. Instruction of the elementary subjects seems to have been done largely by those who aspired to the higher degrees and to the enlarged opportunities which they brought. Many men did continue as university professors, but usually they were subsidized by positions in the Church. As clerks, the careers of writers resembled those of the clergy in general, at least in the thirteenth century. An assumption, often made, is that clerks were priests, but usually priesthood was conferred only upon those who had a benefice requiring "cure of souls" or upon regulars who had similar responsibilities over their brethren. Archdeacons, for instance, might not be more than deacons, as was true of the great Robert Grosseteste, until late in life. University professors and cathedral canons usually were not priests. While pluralism occurred, it usually followed a pattern of accumulation of sinecures. It was virtually unknown for a person to hold two such offices as bishop and archdeacon together; the bibliographical tradition that the aforesaid Grosseteste held archdeaconries together was thus suspect at once.

The patterns of clerkship were really three: mendicant, monastic, and secular. In the thirteenth century the mendicant orders drew a large part of the writers to them. These orders were the best adapted to men who preferred to teach and write since they made their members sure of support throughout their lives, possessed

in their many houses the means of encouraging travel among the friars, and even secured control of university and other teaching positions. Such men as Robert and Roger Bacon, Alexander of Hales, and Robert of Kilwardby found ample opportunity for study and writing under their auspices. Even the men to whom literature was an ephemeral interest on their road to influence and fame, found the mendicant orders avenues of advancement. William of Hothum, Adam Marsh, and many other friars acted as confidants and messengers of princes. The end of the road for Peckam and Kilwardby was the archbishopric of Canterbury.

While the monasteries had lost somewhat in their competition with the mendicants in the thirteenth century, they still had much attraction for men of education. They offered a haven, not merely to the contemplative person, but also to the ambitious. The monasteries were great institutions whose valuable feudal possessions required leaders of financial and legal ability, such as Richard de Mores, or whose traditions encouraged the entrance of men of learning, such as Alexander Neckam.<sup>29</sup> The peculiar literature of the monastery, the chronicle, was nearly always written by the men of action in the house, as has been mentioned. Even a simple monk ranked high in the scale of medieval dignities.

Unlike the regulars, the secular clerks appear frequently in documents, at first usually as clerks, listed near the end of the charter witness lists of the bishop's charters. From humble duties in the chanceries of bishop or lay magnate, they frequently advance to be canons of the cathedrals, a few as archdeacons. Eventually, some became bishops, as did Stephen Langton and Edmund of Abingdon. Some started at the royal court and gradually arose on account of their administrative ability. At least two physician-writers, Gilbert de Aquila and Nicholas of Farnham, advanced through royal favor.<sup>30</sup>

The more literary phases of the authors' lives would be associated with books, libraries, and literary friends. Glimpses of private libraries are given by lists of donations to monasteries,<sup>31</sup> and early library catalogues show the books available to monks and less frequently to others. The very detailed Rievaulx catalogue of about 1200 must have been used as outlined in the catalogue by its author-

<sup>29</sup> Bury St. Edmunds was anxious over the education of its abbots. *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda* (Camden Soc.), p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> A student of mine, E. Ashby Hammond, has written a doctoral dissertation upon the status of the physicians in England from the Conquest to the end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>31</sup> John Godard, John Blund, and Richard de Wicio.

monk, Matthew.<sup>32</sup> Such precise indications are rare, but much can be learned from the lists of textbooks used in the schools then.<sup>33</sup> Information about literary groups unfortunately is rare; hence the notice by William de Bougeville, a monk of Bec, about visiting and excerpting items from chronicles at Bury St. Edmunds, St. Alban's, Westminster, and Paris is very precious.

## VI

The relationship of literature to the authors' careers varies greatly. With many, writing became a normal activity of life and produced a long series of works. With others, writing was a temporary product of early life, mostly of the schools, before administrative duties and other responsibilities choked out the creative urge, probably never too strong, after a piece or two had been written. Few instances of old men turning to literature appear; even their favorite form of writing, autobiography, is seldom found. This pattern helps to solve a difficult problem, that of John of Hoveden, which has many angles.

This John of Hoveden was one of the best poets of his time and also a clerk of Queen Eleanor, appearing several times in documents of the years, 1268-75. The question is whether he may be identified with a master John of Hoveden, prebendary of Hoveden and an astrologer, who died in the years, 1272-6. The arguments against the traditional identification are that the clerk of Eleanor lived on after 1276 and was not a master.<sup>34</sup>

The problem of the survival of the clerk after 1276 is primarily a matter of paleography. In the autumn of 1275, John was given a prebend at Bridgnorth by the king. This item in itself tends to cast

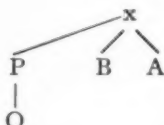
<sup>32</sup> In the *Dictionary* this man appears as Nicholas of Rivaulx. In the summer of 1937 J. P. Heironimus and the late Dom Wilmart discovered that the actual name was Matthew. Professor Heironimus and I are editing his letters and poems. The Rivaulx catalogue appears in the Jesus College, Cambridge, manuscript catalogue.

<sup>33</sup> On the importance of textbooks in medieval education see C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), ch. V. In chapters II and III he treats intellectual centers, books, and libraries.

<sup>34</sup> The theory that there were two Johns is given in my *Dictionary* under "John of Hoveden" and "John of London." The theory of identification is restated by the distinguished editor, F. J. Raby, in his *Poems of John of Hoveden* (Durham, 1939, Surtees Soc. no. 154), pp. xi-xv and by A. J. Taylor, *ibid.*, pp. 270-4. Both men seem to take as their basic axiom the thesis that there could not have been two men named John of Hoveden both interested in astrology living at the same time. Mr. Taylor's chief contribution is in showing that the holder of the Hoveden prebend was Master John of Methelton, a town in the district of Howden, and that John could have been called either John de Methelton or de Hoveden.

doubt upon the identification, since the accounts of the death of the astrologer say that he died in or about 1272, 1275, and 1276 respectively. Now, a modern writer saw evidence which, according to his version, indicated that a holder at Bridgnorth in 1284 was named John of "Heneden." As has been pointed out, *n* and *u* are very difficult to distinguish, and *o* and *e* are obviously similar. The alternatives are rather "Heneden" and "Hoveden" than "Honeden" and "Heveden," but "Heneden" for Hendon would be rather unlikely. It is much more probable that "Hoveden" was misread as "Heneden" than that two holders in a row at Bridgnorth should have had names so similar.

The second problem is whether the clerk of Queen Eleanor was a master. His name appears in five documents of the period, 1268-1275, but is never given as master. This in itself would seem to be decisive since, as has been pointed out before, the title nearly always appears if the person has it. The poet gives his name in a French version of one of his poems without the title; this evidence is probably not very important.<sup>35</sup> However, it is alleged that the best manuscript evidence (MS A below) proves the author a master. A stemma codicum of manuscripts is not given, but the scholarly apparatus of the *Quinquaginta Cantica* seems to indicate the following:<sup>36</sup>



Since only MS A gives the title "master," that title can hardly have been in the unknown original, *x*, and therefore has only the demonstrable authority of A's scribe. The evidence of a late fourteenth-century copyist can hardly offset the authority of several contemporary official documents. It seems very doubtful if the poet and queen's clerk was a master.

Looking at the patterns of life presented by the two theories, one sees that Master John of Hoveden, after a career in which he had been an eminent theologian and astrologer, wrote some excellent medieval poetry, but, if the poet was not the master, one sees the poet writing as a clerk and probably as a young man. The second

<sup>35</sup> Raby, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, 1, 205. Unless the manuscripts of the *Philomena* (which Raby does not edit) give the title "master," it appears only in MS A. The relation of P and O may not be quite so simple, but for our purposes it is enough to show their close relationship.

construction seems the more likely, and tends to corroborate the thesis of two Johns.

The thesis has much interest for the historian of religious poetry. If both were one, the story ends in 1276 and has relatively little connection with other writers. If, however, the poet was the clerk and only a young man in 1268, he may well have been the John of Hoveden who became abbot of Sallay about 1302. The Cistercian abbey of Sallay housed, as Mr. Raby has shown, both an earlier and a later writer with whose religious tradition Hoveden was in accord.<sup>87</sup>

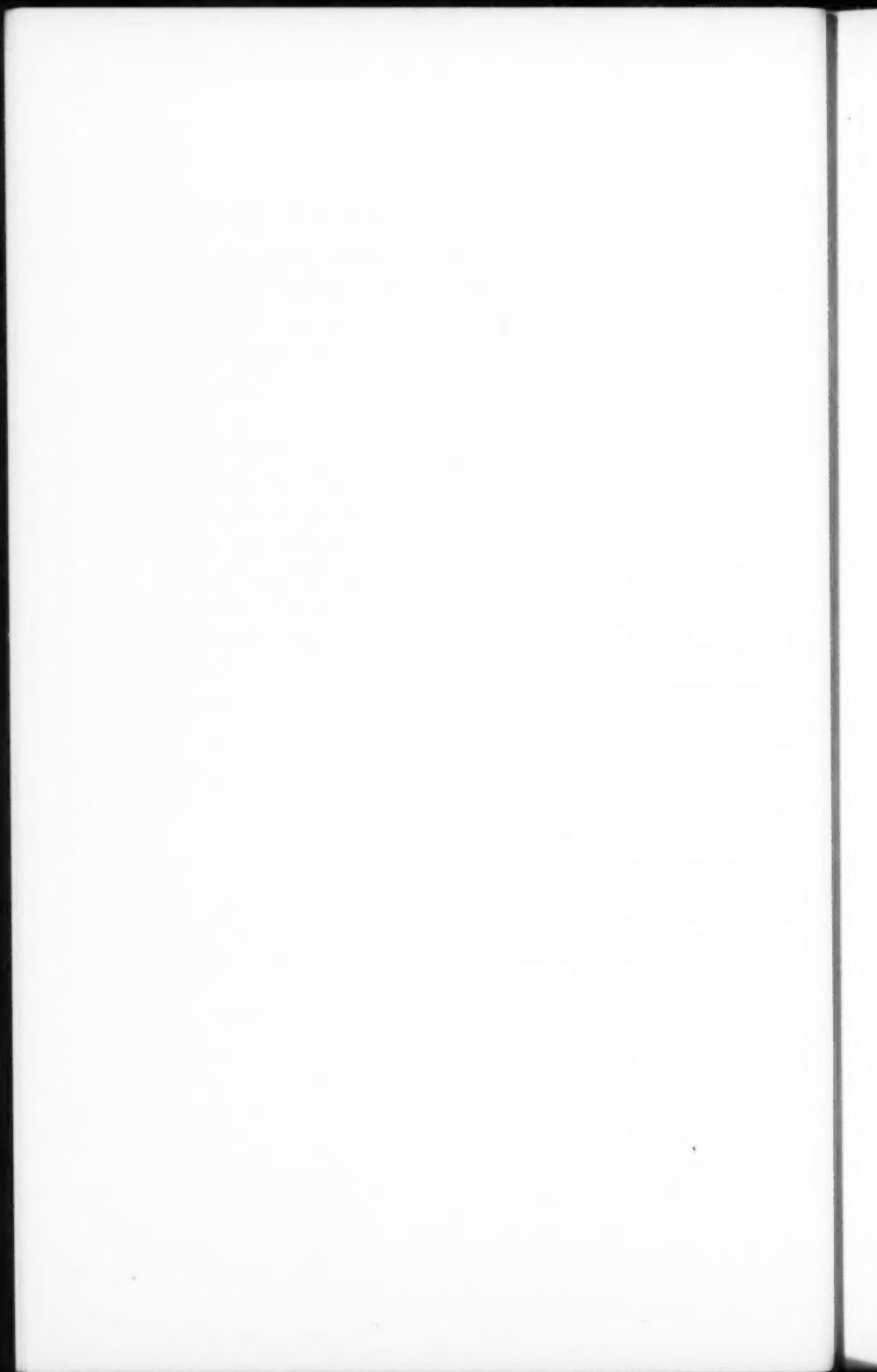
In conclusion, one should remember that the study of a given group of writers with both a chronological and geographical unity produces more than merely a series of biographies. From it should come a knowledge of the general trend of the literary life of the time, of the purposes of literature, of the range of subject matter, and of the relationship of literature to contemporary life. The critical problems are many and interesting. Many are solved by well planned research; some by sheer accident. It would seem that the most successful research is based upon an ingenious imagination and a willingness to submit hypotheses to rigorous control.

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<sup>87</sup> Raby, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xxvii.





EARLY CLASSICAL NARRATIVE PLAYS BY  
SEBASTIAN WESTCOTT AND  
RICHARD MULCASTER

By JAMES PAUL BRAWNER

The decade of the 1570's was not only a period of remarkable proliferation for English drama, but a time of rapid and, we may well believe, eager and hearty transition from the expository and the hortatory to types of plays more purely narrative. No doubt the playwright was still mindful of the ethical, religious, or political import of the action represented in his play; and it would seem that many of the dramas derived from classical sources, especially those of a more serious content, may properly be classified as idea or problem plays. But the time had come when a dramatic author could present an action for its own sake, as a representation of human experience designed to entertain or to move the spectator, not to instruct or reform him. The story had come to be the thing, and the playwrights for both the private and the public stages turned with pioneering enthusiasm to the exploitation and refabrication of new stores of narrative materials. Those who wrote for the men's companies, and consequently for the public stages, turned for the most part to romantic sources; but the schoolmasters who wrote for the children's companies turned, as seems natural, to the classics—occasionally to ancient drama, but more often to history, biography, and mythology; to Livy, Herodotus, Plutarch, Xenophon, or Ovid.<sup>1</sup> Most of these plays, as all men know, are lost; we have the titles of some of them preserved in the *Revels Accounts*, together with a few straws of information about costumery and stage furnishings. If we could recover these plays, we might have to revise more than one of our conceptions of the development of the Elizabethan drama before Lyly; since the plays are lost, however, and no doubt for the most part irrecoverably lost, any estimate that we may attempt to make of them and of their place in the dramatic history must of necessity be compounded in part of speculation. In a recently published monograph,<sup>2</sup> I have attempted to arrive at some estimate of the probable sources, content, and manner of one group of these lost plays, principally those drawn from classical narrative sources and produced at court by the child actors of Windsor Chapel and of the

<sup>1</sup> The general line of cleavage was noted by J. P. Collier, in *English Dramatic Poetry* (1879), II, 410.

<sup>2</sup> *The Wars of Cyrus: An Early Classical Narrative Drama of the Child Actors* (Urbana, Ill., 1942). See the Introduction.

Chapel Royal under the direction of Richard Farrant between the years 1564 and 1580. The present paper supplements that discussion by calling attention to certain plays of classical extraction produced at court during the same period by two other notable schoolmaster-dramatists.

Of the playwrights who wrote for the private stages and the queen's solace during the 'sixties and 'seventies, none is more important than Sebastian Westcott.<sup>3</sup> He was a favorite of Elizabeth, and his boys of St. Paul's appeared more often at court than any other company. With his dramatic works he had pleased great Gloriana when she was merely the Princess Elizabeth; and he did so well at court in after years that he was able to keep his office and perquisites as Master of Paul's in spite of the mutterings of Bishop Grindal, the Consistory Court, and the Court of Aldermen, who charged him with contumacious perseverance in papistical doctrine. Up to the time of his death in 1582 he presented at least twenty-seven plays at court; and at Paul's he maintained a private theatre that brought him "great gaine." Of his plays that won the honor of court performance we have the titles of seven, as follows: *Effiginia, a Tragedye* (1571); *Alkmeon* (1573); *The historie of Error* (1577); *The historye of Titus and Gisippus* (1577); *A Morrell of the marriage of Mynde and Measure* (1579); *The history of Cipio Africanus* (1580); and *A storie of Pompey* (1581).<sup>4</sup> Four of these plays, those concerned with Iphigenia, Alcmaeon, Scipio Africanus, and Pompey, were clearly of classical derivation. *Mind and Measure* and *The History of Error* suggest pedagogical morals; and *Titus and Gisippus* was probably a treatment of the tale of friendship found in Boccaccio.<sup>5</sup>

Of Westcott's *Iphigenia* we know only that it was "A Tragedye shoven on the Innosentes daie at nighte [Friday, Dec. 28, 1571] by the Children of powles,"<sup>6</sup> and that the usual fee of £6. 13s. 4d. was paid for it. This is little enough to go on. Professor C. W.

<sup>3</sup> See H. N. Hillebrand, "Sebastian Westcote, Dramatist and Master of the Children of Paul's," *JEGP*, XIV (1915), 568-84, and chapter on the Children of Paul's in *The Child Actors* (Urbana, Ill., 1926); E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, 8-23.

<sup>4</sup> Hillebrand argued with good effect that a play listed for 1567-68 as *Prodigallitie* is Westcott's, and that it is the extant *Contention Between Liberality and Prodigality*. The *Cupid and Psyche* mentioned by Gosson in *Playes Confuted* (1582) as "plaid at Pauls" may also reasonably be added to Westcott's list.

<sup>5</sup> Novell 8, Tenth Day. On the probable sources of this and other romantic plays see L. M. Ellison, *Early Romantic Drama at the English Court* (Chicago, 1917).

<sup>6</sup> *Revels Accounts* (A. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. Materialien zur Kunde*, XXI, Louvain, 1908), p. 145.

Wallace<sup>7</sup> would identify the play with the extant comedy called *The Bugbears*, but his evidence carries little conviction. Sir Edmund Chambers thinks it "might, for the matter of that, be Lady Lumley's translation from the Greek of Euripides."<sup>8</sup> And so it might have been. There is simply no way of knowing whether this play was an original treatment of the legend of Iphigenia or of some particular aspect of it, or a derivative near or remote from either of the two plays of Euripides. The title is nevertheless an interesting one; for plays suggesting direct derivation from Greek dramatic sources are comparatively rare. As Professor Boas says of *Jocasta* (1566), an English adaptation of an Italian version of a Latin rendering of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, "it was a memorable event when authentic Greek tragedy even in this pale reflex, stepped upon London boards."<sup>9</sup> We need have little doubt that the play was a serious treatment of its subject, and not a farcical distortion of classical materials like the very early *Thersites* (1537) or the *Horestes* of 1567-8. The earlier play derived its titular buffoon from a neo-Latin dialog by Ravisius Textor; and *Horestes* smells of the public scaffolds rather than of the candle-lighted great room of Whitehall.

Two years later the play taken to court by Westcott was a tragedy of *Alcmaeon*.<sup>10</sup> This must have been an original treatment of the story of Alcmaeon; for although the legend from the epic cycle had repeatedly given exercise to the genius of the tragic dramatists of antiquity,<sup>11</sup> no play on the subject was extant, and we have little reason to suppose that Westcott would have known anything about such fragments of the many Greek and Latin tragedies as

<sup>7</sup> In his *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1912).

<sup>8</sup> *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 14. Lady Lumley's translation had been made almost twenty years earlier, and there is no very good reason for identifying Westcott's play with it. One of the better early Italian neo-classical plays was *Oreste*, Rucellai's liberal imitation of *Iphigenia in Taurus*. But we need not necessarily suppose that Westcott would have needed to depend upon anybody else.

<sup>9</sup> F. S. Boas, *An Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford, 1933), p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> *Revels Accounts*, p. 193: "Alkmeon playde by the Children of Powles on Saint Johns daye at nighte there." Sunday, Dec. 27, 1573, at Whitehall.

<sup>11</sup> Sophocles wrote an *Alcmaeon*, and Euripides wrote two tragedies on the subject, *Alcmaeon at Psophis* and *Alcmaeon at Corinth*. Others who wrote tragedies about Alcmaeon included Agathon, Astydamus, Euaretus, Nicomachus, and Theodectes. Aeschylus wrote an *Epigoni*, and there were various tragedies of Eriphyle, Amphiaraus, Alpheisiboea, and Amphilocheus. See J. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecae Fragmenta* (2nd edition); A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge, 1917); F. W. Wagner, *Fragmenta Euripidis* (Paris, 1846). O. Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta* (Lipsiae, 1897), records an *Alcumeo* by Ennius and two plays, an *Alcimeo* and an *Alpheisiboea* by Attius.

have survived. We may rather conclude simply that this dramatist for the Paul's children had a good nose for a tragic theme that had in the long past appealed to a great number of tragic dramatists, including both Sophocles and Euripides, and that he took his story from the available narrative sources, principally Apollodorus and Pausanias.<sup>12</sup> The story in brief is as follows:

Eriphyle, mother of Alcmaeon, betrayed her husband, Amphiarus, for the sake of the charmed necklace of Harmonia. On going to the Theban war, where he knew he should certainly perish, Amphiarus directed his son Alcmaeon to kill Eriphyle on hearing the news of his father's death. Alcmaeon obeyed this injunction and was pursued by furies. (According to another version, Alcmaeon delayed avenging his father until after his own expedition against Thebes as chief of the Epigoni, and his discovery that his mother had betrayed him also in order to secure for herself the famous robe of Harmonia.) In his frenzy, Alcmaeon went to Psophis in Arcadia, was purified by King Phegeus, and married the king's daughter Arsinoë, or, in some versions, Alpheisiboea; to his bride he gave the fatal necklace and robe. The land having become barren because of his presence, Alcmaeon sought peace on an alluvial island at the mouth of the River Achelous; there, having repudiated Arsinoë, he married Callirrhoë, the daughter of Achelous. Callirrhoë coveted the necklace and robe, and despatched Alcmaeon to recover them from Arsinoë, who willingly relinquished them when told that they were necessary to Alcmaeon for his final purification. Phegeus discovered that the treasures were intended for Callirrhoë, however, and had his sons fall upon Alcmaeon and murder him. Callirrhoë prayed Zeus that her small sons might be full grown in order to avenge their father, and her prayer was granted; they killed Phegeus, his wife, and their sons. They then dedicated the fatal treasures to the god at Delphi.

Apollodorus (*Lib.*, III.vii.7) attributes the following additional episode to Euripides:

In the time of his madness, Alcmaeon begat a son and a daughter, Tisiphone, by Manto, the daughter of Tiresias; and he placed them in the care of Creon, king of Corinth. Because of her beauty, Tisiphone was sold as a slave by Creon's wife, who feared her presence in the house. Alcmaeon himself bought her and kept her as a hand-maid, not knowing that she was his daughter; but when he finally went to Corinth to regain possession of his children, he discovered the truth.

<sup>12</sup> Apollodorus, *Lib.* III.vii.2 ff.; Pausanias, VIII.24.7 ff.; Diodorus Siculus, IV.65.7; Thucydides, II.102.7 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* IX.407 ff.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 73.

This complex legend of love, intrigue, betrayal, and vengeance obviously has in it the stuff for a good deal of effective drama.<sup>13</sup> The business of the magical necklace and robe gives the story an element of romance; and since the child actors were regularly pranked out in gorgeous attire in their plays, the robe itself might well have been a sumptuous thing of interest to a courtly audience whose taste ran to pageantry and spectacle. But the basic fabric of the story is starkly tragic; and presumably the play that exploited it was no light thing. This title and a good many others make it difficult, indeed, for us to believe that the children's companies of these earlier years were content to persevere with their moralities, farces, and masques, while leaving the development of more tragic materials to the men of the Inns of Court and of the public stages. Everything would have depended, to be sure, on the method and the manner of treatment and on the particular aspects of the legend chosen for development and emphasis; and on this subject we have no evidence. It is doubtful that Westcott would have written for his child actors a tragedy in the extravagant and horrific vein of the Inns-of-Court neo-Senecans. Probably he would have written a more subdued tragedy, a drama of word not deed: a drama essentially narrative and rhetorical, well freighted with gnomic passages, to be well spoken out on the stage by the linguistically gifted children; and we may be pretty sure that he exploited the tuneful voices of his choirboys by bringing forth a chorus between the acts and by interspersing songs through the body of the play.

Considering the very limited number of titles of Westcott's plays that have survived, we should no doubt be ill advised to attempt to draw conclusions concerning the progress of his dramatic interests; but we may properly note that whereas his plays of 1571 and 1573 were derived from Greek sources, by the end of the decade he had definitely turned to Roman history and biography for his materials. Unfortunately, however, these later titles, though they may seem at first glance to be fairly specific, are so broad as to leave us with little indication of what the substance of the plays might have been. On January 3, 1580, Westcott presented his boys at Whitehall in *The history of Cipio Africanus*. We know only the title and that the Revels Office furnished for the play "sondrie

<sup>13</sup> Because of the large number of lost tragedies on the subject, one notes with interest the content of Alexandre Hardy's *Alcméon, ou La Vengeance Feminine* (c. 1625). In that play Alcméon becomes infatuated with the beautiful Callirhoé and proposes to divorce his wife Alphisibee in order to marry her. Alphisibee causes Alcméon to go mad and kill his own children, and induces her brothers to kill Alcméon. The brothers afterwards come to blows and kill each other; and Alphisibee destroys herself. Hardy thus begins his play late in the fable, and makes radical changes in the story.

garmentes and tryumphant ensignes & banners newe made and their head peeces of white sarcenett scarfes and garters . . . A Citie a Battlement and xviii<sup>oo</sup> payre of gloues."<sup>14</sup> The provision of a "citie" and a "battlement" suggests something in the way of an assault motive, so dear to the Elizabethan heart; but they may have been provided merely as suitable background for episodes that occurred in a military setting without being themselves concerned with the outcome of military actions. We are warned how far we may be misled by a mere title, for example, when we find that a play called *The Wars of Cyrus* is only incidentally concerned with Cyrus and his wars, but is primarily a tragedy of the captive queen Panthea.<sup>15</sup> We have no way of knowing, therefore, whether Westcott's play was of a general, biographical content based on the great multiplicity of incidents in the life of Scipio as recounted by Livy, Polybius, Appian, Gellius, and Plutarch,<sup>16</sup> or whether it was limited to the treatment of some episode only casually related to the career of the great captain. It seems improbable, however, that the child actors would have undertaken to present on a broad scale the military exploits of Scipio, or to produce a conqueror play in the manner of *Tamburlaine*. The play was acted by the Paul's boys not long before the same company was to present Lyly's *Campaspe*, in which, as the reader will recall, Lyly severely limited the scope of his play to the treatment of a single episode in the career of Alexander, as follows:

Appion raising Homer from hell, demanded only who was his father; and we calling Alexander from his grave, seek only who was his love.<sup>17</sup>

No doubt it is idle enough to speculate about the incidents or episodes from the history of Scipio that Westcott would have been most likely to seize upon for treatment in his play; for the reader who reviews the biography with this question in mind will be embarrassed by the plethora of episodes that might have provided the playwright with excellent materials. During Scipio's Spanish campaigns, for example, occurred two notable incidents involving a favorite theme of the dramatists of the children's companies during the 1570's; namely, the plight of the captive woman. One of these, the story of the bride of a young Spanish nobleman named

<sup>14</sup> *Revels Accounts*, p. 321.

<sup>15</sup> See my edition of the play, cited above.

<sup>16</sup> Livy, XXI-XXII, XXV-XXXIX. Polybius, X.2-20, 34-40; XI.20-33; XIV.1-10; XV.1-19; XVI.23; XXI.425; XXIII.14. Gellius, IV.18, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Aemilius Paulus*. And various other sources.

<sup>17</sup> *Alexander and Campaspe*, the "Prologue at Court."



Alucius,<sup>18</sup> had undoubtedly provided the materials for a play acted at court the previous year by the Chapel children. Scipio preserved inviolate a beautiful captive virgin; and her betrothed, Alucius, in gratitude, deserted his former allies and joined forces with Scipio. The other story presents Scipio in a similar posture of noble self-control in his protection of the daughters of Indibilis and other princes, whom he protected "as if they were his own sisters."<sup>19</sup> There is also the romantic and pathetic story of Sophonisba, a perennial subject of Renaissance drama, including perhaps the most notable of all early neo-classical tragedies, the *Sophonisba* (1515) of Trissino. Then there are numerous episodes of conflict in the history of Scipio that led to eloquent oratory, a dramatic presentation of which would have afforded opportunity for the development of a problem or idea; his long speech on the occasion of his wise and skillful suppression of mutiny at Sucro, for example, was a masterpiece of such force that Livy purports to reproduce it word for word.<sup>20</sup> And finally, there is the history of the false accusations brought against Scipio through the enmity of Cato, and of the hero's voluntary exile and his death at Liternum. These are only a few of many possibilities; and all we can say is that somewhere in this wealth of story materials Westcott found a successful dramatic action.

The same general difficulties confront us in considering the last of Westcott's plays whose titles have survived, the *Pompey* of 1581,<sup>21</sup> for we have only the faintest clue as to what portions of the rich abundance of narrative of fact and fiction associated with the name of Pompey were chosen for dramatic development. The provision of "one great citty" and "a senate howse" suggests a setting in Rome, with perhaps some emphasis on forensic scenes. One recalls such episodes as Pompey's defiance of Sulla on the issue of a triumph, saying "more worship the rising than the setting sun"; the conflict between Pompey and Cato on the return of the hero from his Eastern campaigns; Pompey's magnificent triumph, of which Plutarch remarked, "How happy would it have been for him if he had ended his life at this point, up to which he had enjoyed the good fortune of Alexander. For succeeding time brought him only success that made him odious, and failure that was irrep-

<sup>18</sup> Livy, XXVI.50.

<sup>19</sup> Livy, XXVI.49.

<sup>20</sup> Livy, XXVIII.27-29.

<sup>21</sup> *Revels Accounts*, p. 336: "The children of Pawles. A storie of Pompey enacted in the hall on twelf nighte wheron was ymployed newe one great city, a senate howse and eight ells of dobble sarcenet for curtens and xviii. paire of gloues."

arable";<sup>22</sup> his betrayal of Cicero, and his intrigues with Caesar and Crassus; and finally, his defeat by Caesar, his flight, and his miserable end. But of course we simply do not know whether the play was extensive or narrowly limited in scope; the scribe for the Revels Office is not even good enough to tell us whether the play was a tragedy, but reveals simply that it was a "storie" of Pompey that required the use of a "senate howse" as part of its setting. We are left to wonder whether, if we could recover Westcott's *Cipio Africanus* and his *Pompey*, we should have the true, though remote, antecedents of the immortal Roman plays of a later day.

In considering the content of the classical narrative dramas of Richard Mulcaster, who took his scholars of the Merchant Taylors School to court intermittently over a period of some ten years,<sup>23</sup> we are on somewhat more certain ground. Only two such titles have survived, and at least the first of them is quite specific. On February 2, 1574, the Merchant Taylors boys were presented in *Timoclea at the sege of Thebes by Alexander*, a drama on the popular theme of the captive woman. Plutarch<sup>24</sup> tells the story in full detail, as follows:

When Alexander took Thebes, a Thracian captain was quartered in the house of Timoclea, a sister of Theagenes. After supper, when he had swilled himself with wine, he demanded of Timoclea the freedom of her person, and also that she deliver to him her gold and silver. Timoclea bewailed her fate, but, pretending to yield, led the captain to a well in her garden, in which, she said, she had hidden her treasure for security. The captain incontinently descended into the well; and when Timoclea was assured by his voice that he was at the bottom, she showered heavy stones upon him, and thus killed him. When she was taken before Alexander she bore herself bravely; and Alexander so admired her virtue and fortitude that he released her, with the command that she and all her family should be treated with special regard.

This is exactly the kind of story that seems to have been most congenial to the dramatists for the children's companies. It is a serious story, obviously presenting opportunities for a sequence of very dramatic scenes, the whole episode instinct with ethical implication. We have virtue confronted by vice in a conflict in which virtue is not only triumphant but rewarded. The resulting play, no doubt elaborately produced with music and songs, was good enough to provide entertainment for Elizabeth and her court; and at the same

<sup>22</sup> Pompey, xlv (Loeb Classical Lib., V, 233).

<sup>23</sup> See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 75 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Moralia*, XXIV.

time it gave the boy actors that exercise in "good behaviour and audacity" which was considered a principal object of their dramatic activities.

Only three weeks after their performance of *Timoclea*, Mulcaster's boys appeared again at court in a play called *Percius & Anthomiris*.<sup>26</sup> The company's ability to present another play so soon validates the conjecture that it was a re-enactment of one that had been prepared for the preceding year, for we find in the *Accounts* that the Revels Office had provided at that time, among other unassigned properties, "the picture of Andromedas" and "the monster."<sup>26</sup> Thus, like Westcott in his *Alcmaeon*, Mulcaster brought to Elizabeth's stage a play on a legend that had been the subject of many lost dramas by the tragic poets of antiquity;<sup>27</sup> but unlike the legend of Alcmaeon, it had remained a constant favorite, and was to become a staple subject for plays by a great variety of neo-classical and romantic dramatists, including Montreux, Boissin de Gallardon, Corneille, Lope de Vega, and Calderon.<sup>28</sup> Some version of Ovid (*Met.* IV-V) would have been the probable source, though Mulcaster might have known the story from Apollodorus (*Lib.* II.iv.3), Hyginus (*Fab.* 64), or from any number of derivatory sources. We should be glad to know how Mulcaster and his boy actors treated this familiar story, but we have nothing to go on except the title, the "picture of Andromedas," and "the monster." The last suggests an attempt at realism in the presentation of the famous rescue scene. One would give a penny to know whether Perseus, defying Ovid, swooped down to the rescue astride his preempted mount Pegasus,<sup>29</sup> or whether he flew in under his own power. We should imagine that even the perverse recorder of the Revels Office would have been compelled to mention a Pegasus; but he gives no sign, and is content merely to list a monster. Regardless of whether Perseus arrived by boat, horse, wing, or foot, however, we may be sure that his rescue of Andromeda from the rock, whether all naked or not, provided a very effective bit of spectacle for the court stage. And if Mulcaster was like most of the other dramatists who have exploited this legend, he would have found

<sup>26</sup> Feb. 23, 1574. See *Revels Accounts*, p. 213.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174. See Chambers, *op. cit.*, IV, 88 f., 146.

<sup>27</sup> See Nauck, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff., 392 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See H. C. Lancaster, *French Dramatic Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1929), Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 193.

<sup>29</sup> As in most of the Renaissance dramatic versions, including Lope de Vega's *Perseo*, Corneille's *Andromède*, and Calderon's *Fortunas de Andrómida y Perseo* (see Lancaster, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 101). For a detailed study of Perseus' theft see T. W. Baldwin, "Perseus Purloins Pegasus," *PQ*, XX (1941), 361-70.

another capital scene in Perseus' struggle with Phineus and his followers, wherein the fighters are instantly petrified by sight of the head of the Medusa.

These plays of Westcott and Mulcaster, then, as narrative dramas drawn from classical sources and acted at court by the children's companies, belong roughly to the same genre. The masters of the child actors would no doubt have welcomed a good fable from any source; but since they were in the academic milieu, they naturally turned most often to the classical literary sources they knew best. They exploited Roman history and biography, in plays such as *Scipio Africanus*, *Quintus Fabius*, *Pompey*, *Alucius*, and *Mucius Scaevola*; Greek tragedy and legends from the epic cycle, in *Iphigenia*, *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, *Alcmaeon*, and *Agamemnon* and *Ulysses*; mythology, in *Narcissus* and *Perseus* and *Andromeda*; and Greek history and romance, in *Xerxes*, *The Wars of Cyrus* (Xenophon's story of Panthea and Abradatas), *Timoclea at the Siege of Thebes* by Alexander, and *Alexander and Campaspe*. With these plays as their repertory, supplemented by other types surviving from an earlier day, the children's companies carried on through the 'seventies and early 'eighties their losing contest at court with the growing power of the adult companies, whose playwrights during the same period were ransacking the vast stores of romance materials.<sup>30</sup> For a variety of reasons the children gradually lost the contest; but not, presumably, because they had chosen to use narrative source materials any less interesting and attractive than those of their rivals. And although the children and their masters were superseded, they had no doubt played an important role in preparing the way for the great days that were to come.

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<sup>30</sup> The men's companies, of course, occasionally acted a play from classical sources; e.g., *Four Sons of Fabius* (1580), by Leicester's, and *Sarpedon* (1580), by Lord Chamberlain's.

## NICHOLAS ROWE AND THE WIDOW SPANN

By HOWARD N. DOUGHTY, JR.

In spite of Nicholas Rowe's fame as a dramatist and as an editor of Shakespeare, no full length life of him has been written. Rowe's first biographer, Dr. Welwood, complained of the scarcity of material relating to his subject, and succeeding biographers have added comparatively little to Welwood's short account.<sup>1</sup> The documents reproduced below are, therefore, of interest as supplementing the rather meager notices of Rowe's life that we possess, particularly as they throw some light on Rowe's circumstances during a period in his career concerning which we have no other information.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Welwood was Rowe's physician during the poet's last illness and was charged with writing the accounts of Lucan and Rowe prefixed to the posthumous first edition of Rowe's translation of the *Pharsalia* (*Lucan's Pharsalia, Translated . . . by Nicholas Rowe, Esq. . . . The Preface, Giving Some Account of Lucan . . . and of Mr. Rowe, by James Welwood, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, 1718 [1719]*).

"I could not resist," Welwood says, "Mr. Rowe's request in his last Sickness, nor the Importunities of his Friends since, to introduce into the World this his Posthumous Translation of Lucan, with something by way of Preface. I am very sensible how much it is out of my sphere, and that I want both Leisure and Materials to do justice to the Author, or to the memory of the Translator. Never Man had it more in his Nature than he, to love and oblige his Friends living, or celebrate their Memory when Dead; What Pity is it then for want of Information, there cannot be paid to his Name that just Enconium he ev'ry way deserv'd." (*Op. cit.*, xviii.) Welwood adds more to the same effect in his mention of Rowe's edition of Shakespeare. "In that account, he lay under the same misfortune that I have done in this account of Mr. Rowe; he wanted information, to do justice to Shakespeare" (*ibid.*, xix).

Another short sketch of the poet's life, written by Samuel Hales, forms the preface to a collection of commemorative verses (*Musarum Lachrymae, or Poems to the Memory of N. Rowe*), published in 1719. Johnson's account, as far as the biographical parts are concerned, is a rephrasing of Welwood, with additions from Pope's *Letters* and Spence's *Anecdotes*. (On April 6, 1780, Johnson writes to Mrs. Thrale, "I am upon Rowe, which cannot fill much paper" [*Lives of the Poets*, Peter Cunningham, ed., London, 1854, viii]). The account in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by Sir Sydney Lee corrects the date of Rowe's birth. Three recent short lives (W. Forbes Gray, *The Poets Laureate of England* [London, 1914], pp. 114-130; E. K. Broadus, *The Poet Laureates in England* [Cambridge, 1921], pp. 103-112; and, particularly, J. R. Sutherland, *Nicholas Rowe, Three Plays* [London, 1929], pp. 1-37) contain fresh material.

Copy of Mrs. Spanns and Mrs. Mathews their Depositions.  
12. 13. Jan.ry 1712/3<sup>2</sup>

Whitehall  
Jan.ry 12. 1712/3

Depositions of Elizabeth Spann  
widow of Captain Jonathan Spann  
late Commander of her Ma:ty's  
Ship the Rupert

The Deponent says that some time in Sept:r last she prepared a Petition for her Ma:ty desiring that as Administratrix to her late husband she might receive his Pay as if he had been a Rear Admiral tho he did not actually bear such a Commission, & that some consideration should likewise be made her for the expences he had been at in holding Courts Martial & for other incident charges, That one Mrs. Meridon recommended Mr. Nicholas Rowe to her as a person who understood perfectly well the methods of the Secretary's office & would be very useful to her in the prosecution of her pretensions, that accordingly she put her petition into the hands of the sd Mr. Rowe who in about two months brought her the said Petition with a Reference upon it to the Lords of the Admiralty signed by the Earl of Dartmouth<sup>3</sup> for which he said he had paid three guineas to get it hastened, that some time after he acquainted her that he had procured the Report of the Lords Comm:rs of the Admiralty, that the deponent asked him if it would not be proper to give some gratuity to [2] Mr Lewis<sup>4</sup> for his trouble & in order to procure his further favour, that the sd. Mr Rowe told her at first he believed the sd Mr Lewis would not accept of any, but immediately after said if she pleased he would

<sup>2</sup> This contemporary transcript is preserved among the Harley papers at Welbeck Abbey. A short abstract of the depositions is printed in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, 29, V, 262-263. I am indebted to Francis Needham, Esq., Librarian of the Duke of Portland's MSS, for his kindness in locating the original document for me among the Harley papers and having it rotographed.

<sup>3</sup> William Legge (1672-1750), first Earl of Dartmouth, was a schoolmate of Rowe's at Westminster in 1688. He was also a secretary of state (secretary of state for the southern department, June, 1710-August, 1713) during part of the time that Rowe was undersecretary of state to the Duke of Queensbury (February, 1709-July, 1711—see below). On November 2, 1710, he and Queensbury were made joint keepers of the signet for Scotland. The Dictionary of National Biography quotes Swift's character of him—"A man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and good honour; of strict virtue and regularity in his life, but labours under one great defect—that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners than others in his station have done the Queen."

<sup>4</sup> Erasmus Lewis (1670-1754) was also a contemporary of Rowe's at Westminster and later, as undersecretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, a fellow worker with him in the department of state. He was, like Rowe, a friend of Swift and Pope.

offer the sd. Mr Lewis five guineas which sum she did accordingly put into his hands to be so disposed of, A day or two after the Depont. went to visit the sd. Mrs. Meridon with an intent to enquire what her Nephew the said Mr Rowe had done in her business, she found the said Mrs. Meridon at home in company & asked her how her business went forward, the said Mrs. Meridon made her no answer by words but held up her fingers & counted ten upon 'em by signs, wch. the Deponent understood to be a mark that the sd. Mr Rowe had given the sd. Mr Lewis Ten guineas on his account, the Deponent went the next day to visit Mr Rowe and to pay him the remaining five guineas the sd. Mr Rowe did then assure her that he had with difficulty prevailed upon Mr Lewis to accept of the sd. ten guineas & that he was to have twenty more when the business was done. The Deponent afterwards finding that the business still depended grew very uneasy & was desirous to speak with the sd. Mr Lewis himself being advised to it by Comm<sup>r</sup> Tollett<sup>5</sup> she acquainted Mr Rowe with her design who [3] endeavored to dissuade her from it & said it would spoil all, however she persisted in it & he at last consented & said he would come along with her to the Earl of Dartmouth's office & left her in the outer room while he came in to speak with Mr Lewis alone, after he had been some time with Mr Lewis he came out to her & brought her in to him, That the sd: Mr Lewis told her that if Mr Tollett would interpose for her with my Lord Treasurer he was a very proper person to do it, that as for himself he wished her good Success and would do her all the Service in his power, the Deponent reflecting with herself that Mr Rowe was very averse to her coming to Mr Lewis herself, & when he did yield to it, that he left her in ye antichamber till he had talked with Mr Lewis alone, began to conceive a Jealousy that there was some mystery in it and that Mr Rowe had kept some part of this money to himself, accordingly she opened herself to Mr Thomas Dummer who said he knew Mr Lewis very well & believed him to be an honest worthy man, & if she pleased he would ask him if he had ever received any money on this account, the said Mr Dummer returned to her again soon after & told her Mr Lewis had assured him he had never received a farthing & that he would as soon have [4] pick't a pocket as to have taken money in such a case, The Deponent further says that she went this evening to the sd. Mrs. Meridons together with her daughter that she might be a witness of what passed, that she told the sd. Mrs. Meridon she believed Mr Rowe had not yet given the ten guineas but that he

<sup>5</sup> George Tollett, commissioner of the navy in the reigns of William III and Anne, father of the poetess Elizabeth Tollett and great-uncle of the Shakespearean critic George Tollett. (See *Dictionary of National Biography* under Elizabeth Tollett.)



intended to do it, Mrs. Meridon answered Mr Rowe had told her it was already done & further the Deponent saith not.

Eliz: Spann

Jurat coram me  
Jan.ry 12. 1712/3.  
Ri: Warre

Whitehall  
13. Jan.ry 1712/3

The further depositions of Elizabeth  
Spann widow of Captain Jonathan Span

The Deponent declares that she went to Mrs. Meridon in Crown Court this morning & acquainted her with the Depositions she had made yesterday relating to Mr Rowe & Mr Lewis & that the latter had assured her he had never taken any money of her either by the hands of Mr Rowe or any other way & Mrs Meridon answered her she believed the money was given but she could answer for nobody but herself, the Deponent [5] then desired to speak with Mr Rowe himself who owned to her in the presence of Mrs. Matthews daughter of her this Deponent that he had not given the money to the said Mr Lewis but that he had deposited it in another hand, but did not name the person's name in whose hands he had put it, or to that effect.

Eliz Spann

Sworn before me  
Jan.ry 13. 1712/3  
Ri: Warre

Whitehall  
13. Jan.ry 1712

The Deposition of Mary Mathews  
widow

The Deponent declares that she heard Mr Rowe this morning tell her mother Mrs. Spann that he had not given Mr Lewis any money, but that he had deposited it in the hands of another person whom he did not name, or words to that effect.

Mary Mathews

Sworn before me  
Jan:ry 13. 1712/3  
Ri: Warre

That the "Mr. Nicholas Rowe" who figures in these depositions is the same person as Nicholas Rowe the poet is established by the identification in the document of Mr. Rowe as the nephew of Mrs. "Meridon" (p. [2], ll. 6-7: "Depont. went to visit the sd. Mrs. Meridon with an intent to enquire what her nephew the said

Mr Rowe had done in her business"). Nicholas Rowe the poet had, in fact, two aunts Merriden, sisters of his mother, who was born Elizabeth Edwards, the second daughter of Jasper Edwards of Little Barford in Bedfordshire.<sup>6</sup> Jasper Edwards' fourth daughter, Mary, was married on February 11, 1680/1, to William Merriden, Rector of Little Barford, and his fifth daughter, Eleanor, was married on April 20, 1683, to Thomas Merriden of London.<sup>7</sup> William and Thomas Merriden, it appears, were brothers.<sup>8</sup> William Merriden died in 1693.<sup>9</sup> As in 1692 her brother Jasper Edwards the younger had sold the manor of Little Barford,<sup>10</sup> it is not improbable that with the death of her husband and the passing of Little Barford out of the hands of her family Mary Merriden moved to London. In *Collectanea Topographica* her birth date is given as c. 1655 and consequently she would have been about fifty-eight years old in 1613. No birth date is given for Eleanor Edwards, but she would, of course, have been somewhat younger. On the basis of the scanty evidence it is not possible to decide which of the two was Rowe's aunt "Meridon" of the widow Spann's deposition. One of them, however, surely was.

<sup>6</sup> The Edwardses were a Bedfordshire family of some prominence and Rowe's connection with them was an important influence in his life. The families of Rowe and Edwards will be the subject of a forthcoming study.

<sup>7</sup> [J. G. Nicholas], *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. VI, (London, 1840), p. 292; *Bedfordshire Parish Registers*, vol. VI, "Sandy, Little Barford," (Bedford, 1933), p. B10.

<sup>8</sup> Will of Stephen Windress ("Clarke in ye Cursitor's office in London and nephew to Wm. Merriden," buried at Little Barford, Aug. 18, 1688—*Bedfordshire Parish Registers*, VI, B16) dated 11 Aug., 1688, "to . . . my uncle Wm. Merriden, my aunt his wife . . . Uncle Thomas Merriden . . . and to my three cousins, Mary, Jane, and Ann Merriden, daurs. of my uncle William Merriden, decd., decent mourning; to Uncle Wm. Merriden, sole exor., £50 . . ." (F. A. Blaydes, *Genealogia Bedfordiensis* [London, 1890], p. 342). See also the will, dated 22 Jan., 1688/9, of Robert Windress ("late of Cambridge, apprentice to a woollen draper there," buried at Little Barford, April 9, 1690, *Bedfordshire Parish Registers*, VI, loc. cit.) brother of the foregoing: ". . . to William, eld. s. of Uncle Abraham Merriden £10 . . . to William Merriden's wife £10 & to her three daurs. 20s. ea.; to Uncle Thomas Merriden £5 . . . Uncle Wm. Merriden, sole exor., £50 . . ." (Blaydes, op. cit.).

<sup>9</sup> *Collectanea Topographica*, loc. cit. The Venns give the *terminus ad quem* of his incumbency of Little Barford as 1689 (John and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, vol. III [Cambridge, 1924], p. 177), but the Little Barford Parish Register notes the baptism on June 20, 1690, of "Cath. da. Mr. Wm. and Mary Merriden" (*Bedfordshire Parish Registers*, VI, B3).

William Merriden was a graduate of Clare Hall, Cambridge (admitted pensioner May 21, 1666, matriculated Easter, 1667, B.A., 1669/70, M.A., 1673), was ordained at Ely on March 19, 1670, became curate at Clifton, Beds., in 1677, and became incumbent of Little Barford in 1678 (J. and J. A. Venn, loc. cit.).

<sup>10</sup> *Victoria History of the Counties of England: Bedfordshire*, vol. II, (London, 1908), p. 207. Jasper Edwards the elder died in October, 1680, and his widow in March, 1690 (*Bedfordshire Parish Registers*, VI, B16).

Although Rowe's part in the transaction set forth in the deposition may not have been so discreditable to him as it appears to be from the widow Spann's account, nevertheless a study of the known facts of Rowe's life does indicate that at the time the depositions were sworn he was probably in straitened circumstances and may well have been hard pressed for ready money. Rowe is usually spoken of as a gentleman of independent means,<sup>11</sup> but though he came into an inheritance on the death of his father in 1692<sup>12</sup> and achieved literary success early in life, he does not seem to have been really easy in his circumstances until the accession of George I in 1714 brought him the series of offices,<sup>13</sup> his enjoyment of the fruits of which was cut short by his early death. Whatever Rowe's circumstances may have been before he left the law for literature, by 1705 he must either have exhausted his inheritance or found it insufficient for his needs, for in that year he wrote to the Earl of Halifax in an almost abject strain soliciting his recommendation for any public office which he might have at his disposal.<sup>14</sup> And in 1706, shortly after the death of his first wife, we find him selling lands in Devonshire and Cornwall "for the uses of his marriage settlement and for the payment of debts."<sup>15</sup> Rowe's eagerness for

<sup>11</sup> "Being by a competent fortune exempted from any necessity of combating his inclination, he never wrote in distress . . ." (Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Cunningham, II, 109).

<sup>12</sup> "Rowe was bred first at Westminster, and then at the Temple. He had about 300 £ a year and his chambers there," Erasmus Lewis to Spence (Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men* [London, 1820], p. 143).

<sup>13</sup> Surveyor of the Customs, 1714; Laureate, 1715; Clerk of the Prince of Wales' Council, 1716; Clerk of the Presentations in Chancery, 1718.

<sup>14</sup> "I beg you will forgive me, my Lord, if I take the liberty to assure you with abundance of sincerity, and perhaps with more warmth and earnestness than becomes the respect I owe to yr. lds'p., that I wish nothing with more pleasure than to be taken in among the least of those that yr. lds'p honours with your favour and protection, and entirely to depend upon and owe everything in this world to so good a man as my Lord Halifax . . ." (Rowe to Halifax, October 5, 1705, quoted in Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 7). The Earl of Halifax, like Rowe, had received his schooling at Westminster.

<sup>15</sup> "March 7, 1705/6. Row's Estate Act. Consent of John Smith, of St. Clement Danes, London, Esquire, to the passing of the Bill for vesting certain messuages and lands in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, of Nicholas Row, Esquire, in trustees, to be sold; and applying the greatest part of the purchase money to the uses of his marriage settlement, and the residue for the payment of debts" (*The Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, n. s., VI, 426).

Rowe's first wife was Antonia Parsons, daughter of Anthony Parsons, Auditor of the Revenue. He married her in 1698; she bore him a son John, who was christened on August 24, 1699, at the Church of St. Andrew's, Holburn (J. L. Vivian, *Visitations of the County of Devon*, Exeter [1895], p. 662). He married again in 1715; his second wife was Anne Devenish, daughter of Joseph Devenish of Buckam, county Dorset (*ibid.*). Rowe's grandmother on his mother's side was also a Devenish (Jasper Edwards

place was temporarily assuaged by his appointment on February 5, 1709, as one of the undersecretaries of State to the Duke of Queensbury,<sup>16</sup> but the Duke's death on July 6, 1711, deprived him of this position<sup>17</sup> and Oxford was not sympathetic to the claims of such a staunch Whig as Rowe. Swift and other friends importuned the ministry on his behalf, but in vain.<sup>18</sup> As has been said, it was not till the downfall of the Tories at the accession of George I in 1714 that Rowe's official fortunes began to mend.

Besides his inheritance and his government post, Rowe had one other source of income to look to, namely, what he received for his literary efforts. His plays and translations were no doubt profitable in various measure and he must have received a considerable sum from Tonson for his editing of Shakespeare. But he never, apparently, at any stage in his career attempted to support himself by writing, and from 1709, when the Shakespeare appeared, until 1714, when *Jane Shore* came on the stage, he produced almost no literary

married Joane Devenysh *ante* 1641, *Collectanea Topographica, loc. cit.*), and his great aunt Mary married in 1629 Robert Devenish of London, son of Robert Devenish of Grimston, Dorset (*ibid.*, p. 291; J. J. Howard and J. L. Chester, *The Visitations of London* [London, 1880], I, 230). Possibly Rowe's grandmother, his great uncle by marriage, and his second wife were all of the same Dorsetshire family.

<sup>16</sup> *The London Gazette*, February 3-7, 1708/9, notes the appointment "since the public business is increasing of a third secretary of State, his Grace James Duke of Queensbury and Dover."

The appointment of Rowe was made somewhat reluctantly by Queensbury at the request of the Duke of Somerset. "The Duke of Somerset stickled hard for Rowe to be in the Duke of Q — 's office; so much that he had like to have quarrelled with the Duke, who had a mind to have shuffled him off" (*Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, Wentworth Papers, p. 140). According to Welwood, however, the Duke came to appreciate his subordinate's qualities. "When that truly Great Man came to know him well, he was never so pleas'd as when Mr. Rowe was in his Company" (*Lucan's Pharsalia, loc. cit.*). Rowe dedicated *Jane Shore* to the Duke's son.

Among the MSS of the Earl of Delaware is a series of letters written by Charles Whitworth from various consular posts to members of the Council of State (listed in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, III, 218), some of which were written to Rowe (Vol. XI, 1710, letters from Mosco [*sic*] to Boyle, Nicholas Rowe; vol. XII, 1711, letters from Mosco to H. St. John, the Duke of Queensbury, Nicholas Rowe & others; vol. XIII, 1711, drafts of letters to the Duke of Queensbury, H. St. John, and Rowe). In *British Museum Additional Mss., 1906-1910*, p. 688, is listed one of Rowe's answers to Whitworth, "N. Rowe, letter to C. Whitworth, 1711."

<sup>17</sup> Letter, dated July 6, 1711, from Lord Dartmouth, ordering Montgomery and Rowe, undersecretaries, to deliver up the seals of their office.

<sup>18</sup> "And do you know I have taken more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and the mercy of the ministers than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place, Congreve I have got to be used kindly, and secured, Rowe I have recommended and got a promise of a place" (Swift, *Journal to Stella*, December 27, 1712).

work.<sup>19</sup> In sum, the years 1711-1714 must have been a lean period in Rowe's life: as early as 1705 his inheritance apparently no longer sufficed him; after 1709 his literary fortunes had gone into at least partial eclipse; and in 1711 he lost the government place he had so eagerly pressed for.<sup>20</sup> It was only with the triumph of *Jane Shore* in February, 1714, and the coming of the House of Hanover in July of the same year that he again tasted success. Whatever his actual conduct in the affair of the widow Spann may have been, it is not so surprising as it might at first seem to find Rowe engaged in 1712 in the rather dubious business of "hastening" a petition at the Admiralty office.

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<sup>19</sup> His translation of Quillet's *Callipaedia* was published in 1712. "Rowe translated the first book only, the other three being handled by Cobb, Diaper, and Sewell; but the translation generally passed for Rowe's and the publisher took some pains to deceive the public on this point" (Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

Rowe must have finished *Jane Shore* late in 1713, or at least had it well under way, for on December 12 of that year Lintot paid him 50 £. 15s. for it (Lintot's Accountbook, quoted in Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Cunningham, II, 109). *Jane Shore* was first acted on February 12, 1714.

<sup>20</sup> Two contemporary or near-contemporary references lend support to the inference that Rowe was more or less in difficult straits during the years between his loss of office and the appearance of *Jane Shore*. George Lockhart, who died in 1732, relates in his *Memoirs* an often repeated anecdote (the story came to Spence from Pope; Spence, *op. cit.*, p. 144), which turns on Rowe's attempts to obtain an office from Lord Oxford. In his version of the story Lockhart speaks of Rowe as "ane English gentleman . . . much noticed for his wit and poetry, and withall a man of no fortune" (*The Lockhart Papers*, 1817, I, 372; quoted by Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 8). The second reference is in the *New Rehearsal*, an attack on Rowe sponsored by Edmund Curll to take advantage of the furor created by *Jane Shore*. Here the poet is made to answer the charge that he has elevated a shopkeeper's wife to the role of tragic heroine, by remarking cynically that his purse and his reputation, "which had for some time lain dormant," found her an excellent heroine. "I find to my comfort, that it is a very good Tragical character, my pocket knows it, and my Reputation too . . . which had for some time lain dormant" (Gildon, *A New Rehearsal*, 1714, p. 82; quoted by Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 353).

It seems possible from the wording of the second deposition that Rowe was living at the time at his Aunt Merriden's house in Crown Court. As has been said, he was a widower from 1706 till 1715. At the time of his death his home was in King Street, Covent Garden (*Weekly Journal*, December 13, 1718).

## SCOTT'S FELLOW DEMONOLOGISTS

By COLEMAN O. PARSONS

When Mrs. — began to hear voices and to see cats, dogs, spectres of dead or living relatives and friends, as well as carriages full of skeletons "and other hideous figures," her husband started a diary and submitted a segmented case history to *The Edinburgh Journal of Science* in the hope that the editor, David Brewster, or Dr. Samuel Hibbert might suggest experiments to discover the immediate causes of these "optical illusions induced by disease." Rejecting all supernatural explanations, Mrs. — thought of Dr. Hibbert's *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, an Attempt to trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes* (Edinburgh, 1824) "and consequently felt no alarm or agitation." Perhaps, however, "her usual tonic" was again forgotten, for she once more lost ocular control of reality and saw the figure of a deceased friend seated in the drawing-room. "Recollecting a story of a similar effort [made by a Catholic soldier who was haunted by his confessor] in Sir W. Scott's work on *Demonology*,<sup>1</sup> which she had lately read," the unfortunate lady sat down on the apparition and thus dispelled it.<sup>2</sup>

But Sir Walter Scott had not always acted as comforter to the spectrally afflicted. In the days before he became President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, he might well have agreed with the anonymous reviewer of *Phantasmagoriana* for *Blackwood's*<sup>3</sup> that familiar apparitions had not yet been banished by philosophy—that the intellectual enlightenment advocated by Dr. John Ferriar in *An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions* (London, 1813), must be purchased at the price of the "Pleasures of Superstition," much of the sublime in poetry, and "the thrilling delight of a ghost-story by a Christmas fire-side."

It was to just such a fireside that Walter Scott was invited on November 26, 1805, by Pandemonia—later to sign herself Demonia, Secretary and Poet to Pandemonium, Pandemonium Hall. The club, meeting on Christmas Day at retired Admiral John Elliot's Roxburghshire seat, Mount Teviot, wished Scott to instruct its members "in mystical lore," "to teach them to conjure," and "to make their Teeth chatter at Goblin or Ghost"—

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (London, 1830), pp. 36-8.

<sup>2</sup> *The Edinburgh Journal of Science*, New Series, II (1830), 218-22 and 319-21; III (1830), 244-5; IV (1831), 261-3.

<sup>3</sup> III (1818), 589-92. Cf. "The Spectral Dog—an Illusion," *ibid.*, XXVIII (1830), 784-6.

In short, I cant tell the fine things you can do,  
 But all hands declare there is nothing like you;  
 And each Member amongst us this Motto has got }  
 That for Tales of Hobgoblins of Ghosts & *what not* }  
 No Mortal in Britain is like Walter Scott. . . . }

The poetic letter bears the Jedburgh postal mark and a fly-figured red seal, the ostensible sign of *Beelzebub*, who was in his humble beginning lord of flies. On December 5, despairing Demonia (Lord Minto's daughter, Anna Maria Elliot?) doubled the length of her verse epistle and received an eighty-three line, somewhat tardy reply, in which Mrs. Scott's renewal of maternity is delicately avoided as an excuse for not attending. I quote from the *Scott Letter-Books*, Vol. I, by permission of the late Sir Hugh Walpole.

Gilpin Horner to Demonia—Christmas 1805.

Infernal Maid, I greet ye well.  
 Your favours came to hand from hell.

Fear not. I'll bring sweet horrors soon,  
 Shall make delighted list'ners swoon.

Of ghosts & kelpies I've a store.  
 And some shall squeak & some shall roar,  
 At Teviot's mount, by pale blue light,  
 When Devilish tales e'en Devils fright.

I'll sing ye many a merry ploy,  
 Shall make Deils wag their tails with joy.

Advise, Demonia—take this hint—  
 Ne'er think your Gilpin tint, tint, tint—<sup>4</sup>

That Scott was not idly boasting about his story-telling skill is suggested by a letter of the admiral's nephew, the Earl of Minto, to Lady Palmerston, August 28, 1802:

In the evening the younger part of the society [at Minto House], . . . form a circle, without candles, and tell hobgoblin stories till supper-time; the conversation is not confined to the narrator, but the whole ring is so vociferous that they have merited the title of Pandemonium. . . . We have had a most capital addition to the Hobgoblin-ites in Mr. Walter Scott, editor of the "Minstrelsy of the Border," who besides an inexhaustible fund of spectres, has a rich store of horrid murders, robberies, and other bloody exploits committed by

<sup>4</sup>The entire poem is printed in my "Walter Scott in Pandemonium," *Modern Language Review*, XXXVIII (1943), 244-9.



and on our own forefathers, the Elliots. Mr. Scott is a particularly pleasing and entertaining man.<sup>6</sup>

These were fashionable hobgoblinites who had found an outlet for youthful spirits in a new variety of parlor game. But their countrymen did not always approach the devil and his cohorts with like frivolity. In his frequent visits to the bookshop of David Webster, whom Scott patronized, that deranged attacker of sundry abuses and discoverer of the perpetual motion, "Dr." John Brown, energetically boasted of his encounters with the foul enemy; "nay, he had killed the devil and slaughtered numbers of the imps of darkness—hence his *soubriquet* of 'The Devil-Killer.'"<sup>7</sup> Between these extremes may be found the eccentric, the sick, and the sane pursuers of demonological studies.

Like many other amateur demonologists, John Leyden was early entertained by "wild and weird ballads." The reciter was his mother, who, as Dr. James Russell says, thrilled John's "keen fancy with tales of superstitious eld—of goblins and warlocks, gnomes and fairies."<sup>8</sup> When a university student, Leyden came home to Cavers during the vacations and, while using the parish church as a study, encouraged the belief that he was concentrating on forbidden arts. Whether most of the details were based on actual pranks or on the embroidery of folk imagination, it was reported that the eccentric student had raised the devil in order to impress a doubting native. With his sandy hair, staring eyes, shrill voice, reinforced by naturally abrupt, vigorous movements and explosive animal spirits, Leyden must have transformed his game of conjuring into an appalling and soul-shaking experience. His medical studies later enabled him to startle the villagers with a phosphorus-coated sow, which was tied to the church bell-rope.

When Leyden came to preach in the same church on the text, "Get thee behind me, Satan," an old parishioner whispered the natural comment, "I kent it wad be something like that; he could never lat the deil alane a' his days."<sup>9</sup> The Border scholar's wild energy, verging on the demoniacal, at times made him seem Old Horny in person, rather than a mere investigator of the diabolical. Thus, during a Highland tour with two young Germans, Leyden hardly exaggerated when he wrote Professor Thomas Brown of having roared out "Lochaber no more" as his boat on Loch Etive

<sup>6</sup> *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot First Earl of Minto*, ed. the Countess of Minto (London, 1874), III, 254-5.

<sup>7</sup> James Paterson, *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*, ed. James Maidment (London, 1885), II, 251.

<sup>8</sup> John Reith, *Life of Dr. John Leyden* (Galashiels, n.d.), p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

seemed about to be swamped. The utterly astonished mariners "verily believed they had got the devil on board."<sup>9</sup>

In the light of these incidents, Scott's retrospective analysis of Leyden's attitude toward the marvelous has considerable interest. It likewise applies in part to the novelist himself:

In his early days, also, he probably really felt the influence of those superstitious impressions, which at a later period he used sometimes to assume, to the great amusement of his friends, and astonishment of strangers. It was indeed somewhat singular, when he got upon this topic, to hear Leyden maintain powerfully, and with great learning, the exploded doctrines of daemonology, and sometimes even affect to confirm the strange tales with which his memory abounded, by reference to the ghostly experiences of his childhood. Even to those most intimate with him, he would sometimes urge such topics, in a manner which made it impossible to determine whether he was serious or jocular, and most probably his fancy, though not his sober judgment, actually retained some impressions borrowed from the scenes he has himself described.<sup>10</sup>

Especially during the years 1800 to 1802 had Scott enjoyed Leyden's half-pretended, half-imaginative credulity while he was contributing "The Elf-King" to *Tales of Wonder*, and original poems and illustrative materials to *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. But the barrier between such literary creation and life attitudes appears rather thin when we recall the "Lenore" theme of a demon lover, his refusal to be separated from his sweetheart by death, and the return from the grave for his own. On April 2, 1803, before leaving England for India, Leyden wrote to his betrothed, Jessie Brown: "You are mine, soul and body, and there exists not a living being that could draw you from me."<sup>11</sup>

Leyden was but one of the many friends the editor of the *Minstrelsy* made while collecting ballads and digesting Scottish lore. Another member of the group was James Hogg, a literary shepherd who possessed all of Leyden's eccentricity and buoyancy of spirit, but none of his learning or steadfastness of purpose. To him Scott was introduced by William Laidlaw in the summer of 1802, some time before the publication of the third volume of the *Minstrelsy*. Hogg was no less acceptable an acquaintance of Scott's because of his intense interest in the supernatural, which he either discovered or generously intromitted in his own adventures and those of his ancestors and of his fictional characters. The shepherd's maternal

<sup>9</sup> Reith's *Life*, p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> "John Leyden, M. D.," *Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1827), IV, 146.

<sup>11</sup> Reith's *Life*, p. 203.

grandfather was William Laidlaw, popularly known as Will o' Phaup, whose distinction it was to have been the last man on the upper Ettrick to see and converse with fairies, while his paternal forebears were the Hoggs of Fauldshope, many of whose women belonged to the unholy sisterhood. Famous among these was the Witch of Fauldshope whom Scott commemorated in a note to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*—*Falsehope* is there the spelling—as having transformed Michael Scot into a hare.

Legend readily gathered around the figure of James Hogg, nor was he at all displeased by a process which lent his name some of the mysterious consequence enjoyed by his progenitors. Allan Cunningham reports that the celebrated Brownie of Bodsbeck ran the errand of a timid rustic who was sent for a midwife to officiate at James's birth.<sup>12</sup> The great storm of 1794, according to the common people, was produced by the conjuration and devil-raising of James Hogg, his brother William, and Alexander and William Laidlaw, members of a group which met for self-improvement. When he was seriously ill in November, 1798, Hogg overheard one man tell another that the shepherd was not long for this world—his wraith had been seen.<sup>13</sup> Such were the stories Hogg liked to repeat or to hear repeated about himself until he at last forgot whether they were originally inventions, adaptations, or actual facts.<sup>14</sup>

In his prose fiction, the Ettrick Shepherd almost invariably devised plots which turned on ghosts, seductions, or a combination of these elements of narrative suspense. Governed almost entirely in their composition by a loose-linked and capricious chain of association, Hogg's stories seldom progress far before the characters are involved in a bog of supernatural adventures through which they wade toward an ever receding shore. At least, the apparitions, brownies, witches, and devils are native, rather than outlandish, products, whose characteristics may be observed in such tales as *The Hunt of Eildon*, *The Brownie of the Black Haggs*, *George Dobson's Expedition to Hell*, *The Witches of Traquair*, *The Laird*

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham, *Biographical and Critical History of the British Literature of the Last Fifty Years* (Paris, 1834), p. 69. Cf. Leitch Ritchie, *Scott and Scotland* (London, 1835), pp. 63-4, and Wilfred Partington, *Sir Walter's Post-Bag* (London, 1932), p. 131.

<sup>13</sup> *The Scots Magazine*, LXVII (1805), 821.

<sup>14</sup> For the supernatural in Hogg's life and ancestry, see *Memorials of James Hogg*, ed. Mrs. Garden (Paisley, 1884), pp. 6-7, 13, 157-8; Sir George Douglas, *James Hogg* (New York, 1899), pp. 11-2, 16; H. T. Stephenson, *The Ettrick Shepherd*, Indiana University Studies, IX, 54 (1922), pp. 8-10, 20; Edith C. Batho, *The Ettrick Shepherd* (Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 3. Cf. the Shepherd's whimsical remarks to Christopher North: John Wilson, *Noctes Ambrosianae* (Edinburgh and London, 1855-6), I, 8-9, 201, and II, 199; see also II, 284, 353-4.

of *Cassway*, *The Marvellous Doctor*, and *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*.

On two occasions, Scott saw fit to criticize his friend's literary use of the supernatural. He objected to the poem, "The Witch of Fife," that "the gude auld man [was suffered] to be burnt skin and bone by the English at Carlisle." Hogg subsequently brought the old man off with flying colors in the third edition (1814) of *The Queen's Wake*. Scott also found fault with the novel, *The Three Perils of Man; or War, Women, and Witchcraft* (1822) on the grounds of "extravagance in Demonology," which "had ruined one of the best tales in the world." Scott's criticism may have been that the narrative proper occupied the beginning of the first and the end of the third volume, whereas all of the second volume and eight chapters of the other two were taken up with the wildly conceived adventures of a party sent by Sir Ringan Redhough of Mountcomyn to consult Master Michael Scot in his enchanted tower at Aikwood, where he had been pent up for seven years. Here I suspect that Hogg's memory was at fault and that the advice actually came before the novel went to press. In fact, we find the shepherd writing Scott for counsel on November 16, 1821, in such words as to indicate that the Great Unknown had already suggested revision. On December 10, he further communicated that his nephew would leave the proofs with Scott for correction and that he had tried to avoid any awkwardness by changing the name of his fictional Sir Walter Scott to Sir Ringan Redhough.<sup>15</sup> Coming to a tardy realization of the enormity of his narrative transgression, Hogg prepared a cut version of the *Perils*, free from all witchcraft and rechristened *The Siege of Roxburgh*, which was brought out posthumously in 1837. And in his *Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott*, the shepherd author handsomely conceded, "I never adopted a suggestion of his, either in prose or verse, which did not improve the subject."<sup>16</sup>

Having accepted Scott's strictures, Hogg still felt that he might call himself "the King o' the Mountain and Fairy School [as in "Kilmeny"]", which is a far higher ane than yours [of chivalry]." Somewhat more definite criticism of Scott's use of the supernatural occurs in the introductory remarks to Hogg's excellent tale of a vengeful revenant, "The Mysterious Bride," which appeared in

<sup>15</sup> *Scott Letter-Books*, vol. X.

<sup>16</sup> P. 117 (Glasgow, 1834). For critical opinion on Hogg's use of the supernatural, see *Memorials of James Hogg*, pp. vii, x, xix-xx, 27, 189, 198-9; Sir George Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 68-72, 81-2, 90, 98-102, 117; H. T. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 85-6; Edith C. Batho, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-8, 119-20, 123, 136, 139, 167; *The Edinburgh Review*, XXIV (1815), 164, 171-2; John Veitch, *The History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, new ed. (Edinburgh and London, 1893), II, 105; and I. L. Churchill, *Celtic Tendencies in the Writings of James Hogg*, M.A. Essay in English, Yale (1927), pp. 12-6, 34-7, 39-40.

*Blackwood's* for December, 1830. The allusion therein is to the *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, published in September of the same year, but it is just as apposite to such weird episodes in the Waverley novels as are rendered unconvincing by a too obvious hesitancy in presentation:

A great number of people nowadays are beginning broadly to insinuate that there are no such things as ghosts, or spiritual beings visible to mortal sight. Even Sir Walter Scott is turned renegade, and, with his stories made up of half-and-half, like Nathaniel Gow's toddy, is trying to throw cold water on the most certain, though most impalpable, phenomena of human nature. The bodies are daft. Heaven mend their wits!

An interest in the dark and grotesque aspects of the supernatural may be an evidence of ill health or of morbidity. Devils, like black bile in the medieval analysis of bodily fluids, had become symbols of low spirits or bad health. As early as 1796, Scott jokingly mentioned to William Erskine the blue, white, black, and grey devils which companioned his solitude.<sup>17</sup> Anyone who has lived among hard drinkers, he later wrote in his *Letters on Demonology*, is aware of the "mental disorder" popularly known as blue devils. Advising James Ballantyne to eat moderately and to take regular exercise, he suggested in 1810 that his friend might thus chase away "those waking night-mares commonly call'd the blue-devils."<sup>18</sup> William Stewart Rose, who was later paralytic, wrote Scott in 1821 about blue devils: "I doubt yours being *true blue*. . . . I never try to wrestle down the fiends, . . . I fly them . . . considering them as enemies." The following year, J. B. S. Morritt let Scott know that the moody Rose had again been possessed by "blue devils & yellow devils," and Sir James Stuart confessed: "An evil star seems to have prevailed over my destiny . . . I give the mind as much occupation as I possibly can to keep the demon of melancholy at a distance."<sup>19</sup>

Robert Pearse Gillies, perhaps the most nervously susceptible of Scott's acquaintances, suffered from a morbidity which was probably heightened by an early and enthusiastic application to the study of gloomy superstitions. In 1801, when Gillies was but thirteen years old, his indulgent father allowed him to order from an Aberdeen bookseller as many rare and ancient works as struck his fancy. The shipment consisted of over a hundred volumes in Latin, French, and early modern English, all but one of them "treating on magic either

<sup>17</sup> *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Grierson (London, 1932-7), I, 57.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 365.

<sup>19</sup> *Scott Letter-Books*, vols. X and XI.

natural or supernatural, on witches, ghosts, *diablerie*."<sup>20</sup> Years later, Gillies was to lend Scott notable volumes from his occult library and to mention the Laird of Abbotsford's kindred activity as a collector:

It soon became an agreement betwixt Mr. Ballantyne and myself, that whenever there occurred a fresh arrival of old treasures, I should be present at the unpacking of the boxes, and make my own selection, only with this caveat, that if any 'witch-books' came in the way, these were to be put aside for Sir Walter Scott. Under this generic title he ranked all books and tracts, not only relating to witches, but to daemonology, ghosts, apparitions, warnings, prophecies, &c., having for a long time been sedulous to form a large collection in this department, with a view to compose, one day, an original work on the subject.<sup>21</sup>

With this background of undisciplined reading, it is not surprising that Gillies' first letter to Scott, January 29, 1812, should sound the note of his future intercourse with the poet with a discussion of the supernatural. He believed that a valuable "Catalogue raisonnée of all the books that have appeared on Witchcraft, Apparitions & the occult Sciences" could be prepared for [Brydges' *British*] *Bibliographer*, with Scott's supreme collection as a foundation. "From my own experience I can affirm that there is a certain state of mind & Body in which Apparitions such as those which appear in the Highlands, those observed by Petrarch, Lord Littleton, Brutus &c. actually do present themselves to the Eye with all the horrible reality of Supernatural Visitation."<sup>22</sup> One wonders whether Scott had Gillies in mind when writing his *Letters on Demonology*: "At least one hypochondriac patient is known to the author, who believes himself the victim of a gang of witches, and ascribes his illness to their charms, so that he wants nothing but an indulgent judge to awake again the old ideas of sorcery."<sup>23</sup>

Scott felt the necessity of keeping his temperamental young friend within sane bounds. On April 26, 1812, he gave good counsel: "The fiend which haunts you is one who, if resisted, will flee from you." Replying three days later, Gillies affirmed that he would "try to resist the fiends" and then inclosed a poem containing an incident of a maiden carried off by "the fell Kelpie" and an autobiographical reference to "dreams beloved" which "drive the spectre forms of real Life away!" Scott's advice in May that Gillies could "defy the foul fiend" by forming some literary plan and persisting in it was characteristically countered by remarks on the Rev. Dr. John

<sup>20</sup> R. P. Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran* (London, 1851), I, 159.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 10-1.

<sup>22</sup> *Scott Letter-Books*, vol. V.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

Ogilvie, "a firm believer both in Apparitions and in Witchcraft" with "a most valuable MS. collection on the subject," all leading up, of course, to the irresistible subject of his own "most formidable fiends."<sup>24</sup>

That Gillies reflected on Scott's advice is suggested by his contributions to Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges' *The Ruminator* in the latter part of 1812. He returned again and again to the problem of the poetic, acutely sensitive individual, artificially educated, solitary, maladjusted, misunderstood, and morbidly irritable. In him, the "vital organs are worn out by the workings of a too powerful spirit." When Gillies tried to outwit that "most relentless demon . . . hypochondriac debility, depression and exhaustion" resulting from "every fit of extraordinary exhilaration," he found a rather negative expedient—the avoidance of all "preternatural excitement." As for apparitions, he still considered them, as in his letter to Scott, the result of a singular malady of the senses in which "the perceptions become insensible to real objects, and are, as it were, turned inwards on the fictions of imagination." On reading these introspective essays, Byron noted in his *Journal*, November 23, 1813: "This young man can know nothing of life; and, if he cherishes the disposition which runs through his papers, will become useless."

Byron's own *Childe Harold* none too wholesomely influenced Gillies' *Childe Alarique, a Poet's Reverie* (Edinburgh, 1813), a delineation of poetic "vicissitudes of elevation and despondency" which turns out to be a thinly disguised revelation of the author's moody alternation of elation and depression. Cheered by the Genius of Poetry, Alarique sought "Sweet solace, when the visionary train / Of shapes came wildering on his sight amain." But reckless fiends of Remorse and Despair seized upon the "detested child of guilt and misery," who was rescued by Religion and the Light of Reason. Here we have a self-pitying sense of superhuman woes which easily merge into the supernatural through the agency of uncontrolled imagination and emotion. Just as normal auditors may be temporarily purged of human woes by absorption in the superhuman suffering of Greek or Elizabethan tragic characters, an abnormal mind may seek refreshment or escape in lurid supernaturalism.

Like Scott, DeQuincy, and Lockhart, Wordsworth was attracted to the lavish, eccentric, impractical, talented, generous Gillies. While visiting Edinburgh in 1814, the Lake poet composed a sonnet which touches on the younger man's weakness of terrified introspection:

<sup>24</sup> Scott's *Letters*, ed. Grierson, III, 108, 121, and *Scott Letter-Books*, vol. V.



From the dark chambers of dejection freed,  
 Spurning the unprofitable yoke of care,  
 Rise, Gillies, rise: the gales of youth should bear  
 Thy genius forward like a winged steed.

A cheerful life is what the Muses love,  
 A soaring spirit is their prime delight.

Gillies was hardly achieving the "cheerful life" some time thereafter, when he began the study of German, perhaps under the inducement of "some hints from Sir Walter Scott." Finding in German romance the diablerie which had always fascinated him, he set about making translations, one of which, E. T. A. Hoffmann's *The Devil's Elixir*, was submitted to Scott in two different versions in 1823 (published 1824). Such work culminated in the three-volume *German Stories* of 1826. Having lost practically all that remained of his inheritance in the 1825 panic, Gillies gladly accepted Scott's advice to conduct a foreign literature journal. His negotiations with Treuttel & Würtz led to the founding of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in July, 1827. Here the "Kemperhausen" of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* could editorially conjure up the wonders of the Germany which he had once visited and to whose literature he was temperamentally drawn.

Charles Robert Maturin was like Gillies in his varied and irresponsible reading, his "strange vacillation of temperament between gaiety and gloom," his "passion for exploring old and desolate houses," his susceptibility to literary influence, and his dependence on a well balanced, successful man of letters. Delicate as a boy, the object of fond parental demonstrations, he grew up to expect the continuance of comfort and affection as his birthright. But life was to be made increasingly difficult by the collapse of his father's income, lack of preferment in the church, the impetuous act of standing security for the financially insecure, the expense of a growing family, and alternating periods of extravagance and of self-pitying parsimony. In Maturin's life lurked the irritant of the contrast between his actual status and the consequence he visioned for himself. His imagination played with the legend of an infant forebear discovered in a Parisian street by a noble lady who might well have been the mysterious mother. His family had been persecuted politically and religiously, and he considered himself the victim—on various occasions—of booksellers' deceit, of bad advice and even betrayal. Suffering from a lack of understanding, Maturin delighted in feminine society and was "generally restless and dissatisfied in the exclusive company of men."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> "Recollections of Maturin," No. 4, *The New Monthly Magazine*, XX (1827), 374.

This acute introspectiveness was relieved by a gaiety that verged on frivolity, a love of youthful companionship, a fondness for dancing. Of course, the two Maturins puzzled contemporaries. A writer in the *Dublin and London Magazine* for 1826 tells of the "indescribable awe" inspired in him by a genius whose passionate and gloomy works had affected him like "a species of witchcraft," yet he found Maturin easy, gracious, sprightly.<sup>26</sup> Maturin's nocturnal habits of composition and the renewal of exhausted energy by potations of brandy and water seem to have wrought him into an unearthly state, in which—to use his own words—he dared "to explore the ground forbidden to man" and to represent passionate struggles "when the soul trembles on the verge of the unlawful and the unhallowed."<sup>27</sup> Thus he worked until "his long pale face acquired the appearance of a cast taken from the face of a dead body."<sup>28</sup> Dark sadistic impulses welled up from the depths and he wrote with confused intensity. With him the supernatural may have been an escape from real life, but at times it became the only reality. He wrote Scott on February 15, 1813, some two months after the beginning of a correspondence which was never to eventuate in a meeting: "Tales of superstition were always my favorites, I have in fact been always more conversant with the visions of another world, than the realities of this." He was engaged on a poetical romance which would display all his "diabolical resources" and would surpass "the Conjuror Lewis himself."<sup>29</sup>

When Scott sympathetically criticized Maturin's early work in a *Quarterly Review* article of May, 1810, the Irish author, who had often complained of having no literary friend and counsellor, at last found a potential patron. With selfish, yet apologetic, insistence, he later used Scott as an intermediary in negotiations for the presentation of his tragedy *Bertram* at Drury Lane. Scott, Byron, and George Lamb separately advised Maturin to banish the foul fiend, alias the "dark knight of the forest," from the plot. This Maturin most reluctantly agreed to do, protesting when he presented the original version to Scott on July 2, 1816, that he wished the theater managers would let him "mix his dark ingredients, see the bubbles work, and the spirits rise."<sup>30</sup> Although Scott thought a

<sup>26</sup> Quoted by Niilo Idman in *Charles Robert Maturin His Life and Works* (Helsingfors, 1923), pp. 130-1.

<sup>27</sup> Preface to *The Milesian Chief*, 1812.

<sup>28</sup> "Memoranda of Maturin," *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, III (1846), 132.

<sup>29</sup> *The Correspondence of Sir Walter Scott and Charles Robert Maturin* (University of Texas Press, 1937), p. 14.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

personal stage appearance of the devil inexpedient, he admired the omitted material sufficiently to intrude it into a review of Maturin's *Women* some two years later.

Letters between Scott and Maturin were exchanged less frequently during the last years of the Irish writer's life. Consequently we miss an interchange of opinion on Maturin's masterpiece, *Melmoth the Wanderer*. But their estimates of each other remained unchanged. To the clergyman-novelist, Scott was always a great and kind man of letters; to Scott, Maturin was a highly talented, though wayward, man of genius.

Matthew Gregory Lewis, in his childhood, boyhood, and youth, had excellent training in the type of sensationalism for which he was to become famous. The prey of spectres almost from birth, Mat spent much time at Stanstead Hall, Essex, which possessed a haunted Cedar Room that was later transferred to the stage in *The Castle Spectre*. He read his mother's illustrated copy of Joseph Glanvil's narratives in defense of a belief in witchcraft, *Saducismus Triumphatus*.<sup>31</sup> His mother's favorite, petted and indulged, Mat was fifteen when his parents separated. Then the son began to spoil his feckless mother with a share of his own large allowance.

Lewis spent half a year in Germany, learning the language and absorbing by preference the gross spirit of the land's subliterate. While abroad he wrote in order to banish depressed spirits and ennui. This use of composition to electrify depleted nature is suggested by Byron's comment on rereading the worst parts of *The Monk*:<sup>32</sup> "These descriptions ought to have been written by Tiberius at Caprea — they are forced — the *philtered* ideas of a jaded voluptuary." A more flattering interpretation, prophetic of the confession in Gillies' *Child Alarique*, is found in the anonymous *Epistle in Rhyme to M. G. Lewis* (London, 1798):

Thanks for a respite from Affliction's pow'r,  
And many a sorrow hush'd for many an hour!  
Oft has my sick'ning fancy found relief  
From nearer woes in fair Antonia's grief;  
And trac'd, forgetful of my own the while,  
Ambrosio's wand'rings and the tempter's guile.

This strange catharsis comes from observing monk Ambrosio bed a demon-temptress, rape and stab his sister Antonia, and sell his soul to the devil (*The Monk*, 1796). A homosexual himself, Lewis displayed little taste or moderation in portraying heterosexual love. What seemed romanticized truth to him might strike readers

<sup>31</sup> *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis* (London, 1839), I, 28-9.

<sup>32</sup> *Journal* for December 6, 1813.

and audiences as thrillingly unnatural. Sadism also enters into this, as into later, work. In *One O'Clock! or, the Knight and the Wood Daemon*,<sup>33</sup> Sangrida appears every year for a human sacrifice. Clouds open to reveal her with a bloody dagger menacing a beautiful chained dumb boy, Leolyn, and "four Children in white . . . all pointing to a wound upon the heart." The necromantic cavern of the last scene is prepared for the bloody sacrifice of Leolyn on a snake-entwined altar. Fortunately for the spectators' nerves, a rescue is effected and Sangrida stabs the knight instead. Lewis' spectacular scenic effects may have had a physiological basis. For this "extremely small and boyish" literary proliferator, with protruding "queerish eyes" (Scott's description), was near-sighted. Startling exaggeration could compensate in part for weak vision.

A myopic Narcissus, Lewis duplicated his physical features in numerous mirrors distributed in his residences, at the same time that he was multiplying his literary image in bookshops. That the image of "Apollo's sexton" was pleasing to the public is obvious. But the frequent introduction of devils and ghosts in verses, novels, plays, and translations sometimes became wearisome to the flesh of critics. Thus a writer for the *European Magazine* commented on *Adelmorn, the Outlaw* (1801): "This piece . . . ought to have been entitled '*More Ghosts*.'" And a Critical Reviewer (1807), objecting to the endless "ghosts, murders, conflagrations, and crimes" in the Monk's works, was rather surprised to find only "blood, vengeance, and misfortunes" in *Feudal Tyrants*, a translation; he concluded ironically: "To take ghosts and devils from Mr. Lewis's tales is to endanger their very existence."<sup>34</sup>

To have taken the fantastic, the unreal, and the marvelous from Matthew Gregory Lewis' existence would have made his life very drab. There is some slight evidence, however, that his early belief in the supernatural underwent modification. Byron suggests that, at the *Monk* stage of development, Lewis "was in earnest in his belief of magic wonders. That is the secret of Walter Scott's inspiration: he retains and encourages all the superstitions of his youth. Lewis caught *his* passion for the marvellous, and it amounted to a mania with him, in Germany." Byron told Medwin in 1821, or 1822, that Mat, when among the living, felt he had wronged his younger brother [Barrington, who died of a spine injury]. He returned to Mat "as a sort of monitory" spirit before crises. Byron admitted himself "a great believer in presentiments. Socrates' daemon was no fiction. Monk Lewis had his monitor, and Napoleon many warn-

<sup>33</sup> Two-act version, 1807; three-act, 1811, to which I refer.

<sup>34</sup> Both quotations are from Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (London, n.d.), pp. 260, 279.

ings."<sup>35</sup> Shelley noted in his Geneva Journal of August 18, 1816: "We talk of Ghosts. Neither Lord Byron nor M.G.L. seem to believe in them." That Byron and Lewis were purposely drawing Shelley out is not impossible.

The story of the interest excited in Lewis, the spring of 1798, by Scott's translations from the German, of Scott's subsequent acquaintance and correspondence with the author of *The Monk*, of his contributions to *Tales of Wonder* (1801), his impatience at the delays in publication, and the printing of twelve copies of *An Apology for Tales of Terror* in 1799, is well known in the pages of Lockhart. Scott's growing restraint and skill in the use of the supernatural were not applauded by Lewis, who incorrigibly insisted on the retention of the weird. On October 2, 1807, he wrote the northern poet that he would probably like *Marmion* less than the *Lay*: "Erskine tells me, that there is nothing of the wonderful employed in it, and Ghosts, Fairies, and Sorcerers (as you well know) are with me a *sine qua non*."<sup>36</sup> Scott seems to have made up the deficiency by telling Lewis a story which was worked up into one of the Monk's most popular supernatural ballads, "Bill Jones; A Tale of Terror."<sup>37</sup> Some four years after Lewis' death, Scott remarked to a French adulator, Amédée Pichot, who visited Abbotsford in August, 1822: Mat was "a very agreeable man, whose imagination was perfectly amorous of the supernatural, and of popular superstitions. . . . Lewis wrote as if he believed."<sup>38</sup> In similar vein, Scott wrote in 1825 on the margin of Lord Byron's *Detached Thoughts* that Mat Lewis "was a child, and a spoiled child, but a child of high imagination, so that he wasted himself in ghost stories and German nonsense."<sup>39</sup>

No more eccentric, finical, nervous, acid-tongued bachelor and patrician than Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe could have been found in Edinburgh in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Sharpe was a dilettant antiquary, poetaster, editor, artist, and genealogist, whose curious love of ancient scandal, the satirical exposure of dead men by their own words, compelled him to search not a few manuscript chronicles for light on the crimes and intrigues of the past. In similar fashion his morbid, yet whimsical, interests led him to investigate ancestral spirits and beliefs, the very sap of family trees.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Medwin, *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* (New York, 1824), p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> *Scott Letter-Books*, vol. II.

<sup>37</sup> *Romantic Tales* (London, 1808).

<sup>38</sup> Pichot, *Historical and Literary Tour of a Foreigner in England and Scotland* (London, 1825), II, 416.

<sup>39</sup> *The Works of Lord Byron*, ed. R. E. Prothero (London, 1918-24), "Letters and Journals," II, 317, note.

On January 6, 1813, Scott wrote Elizabeth, Marchioness of Stafford, that Sharpe "was mentioning to me the other day his expedition to the Bow, with Lady Stafford, in quest of Major Weir's house. I have a notion I could have found it if I had been of the party. I remember it a sort of receptacle for half dressed flax, but no person was then bold enough to visit it after sunset."<sup>40</sup> The following year, Sharpe made a practice of rambling through Edinburgh with Gillies "in quest of houses haunted, where ghosts either had been or might be expected."<sup>41</sup>

It is quite in keeping with Sharpe's concentration on more lurid superstitions that he should emphasize demonology, the study of devils and their activity, whereas Walter Scott, his friend since 1802, was chiefly attracted by fairy lore, ghosts, and witchcraft. Thus it is rather significant that the one poem of Scott's which is entirely demonological in content and which has not found its way into any collection of his verse was inclosed in a letter to Sharpe: "The Farrier's Garland, Being an excellent new Ballad, showing how the Devil was shod and who shoed him. . . . On seeing a print of a devil with horse-shoes on." The explanatory note reads: "29th May 1819.—Composed by W. Scott, on a print in a book which I sent him.—C. K. S."<sup>42</sup> The first of the six stanzas indicates the character of the poem:

The devil would be shod,  
For foul was the road,  
But one leg did not match with its brother;  
So he cased his five-toed foot  
In a Wellington boot,  
And he went to a farrier's with t'other.

Sharpe's most ambitious essay in poetic diablerie is his anonymous *The Wizard Peter. A Song of the Solway* (Edinburgh, 1834), the plot of which turns on Margaret's temptation by the ghost of her lover Richard, who is transformed into "a demon gaunt, With hideous hoof and claw" on encountering the Wizard Peter. Sharpe's drawings, characteristically enough, include the monstrous birth of Merlin, whose sire was a devil; the disappointment of fiends when the dying Tundale does not accompany them to hell; a lady's horrible metamorphosis into a demon; and the Witch of Fife, illustrative of Hogg's poem. And among the multifarious items of his great collection of curiosities, which was dispersed by auction on June 12, 1851, were two figures of mermaids, one protected by a

<sup>40</sup> Scott's *Letters*, ed. Grierson, III, 215.

<sup>41</sup> Gillies' *Memoirs*, II, 189.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, ed. Alexander Allardyce (Edinburgh and London, 1888), II, 202-3.

glass shade, a pair of thumbikins, two astronomical druidic amulets, a witch's bridle, the hand of a murderer—preserved.<sup>43</sup>

Both Sharpe and Scott served the same apprenticeship to the ghostly, for their youthful minds were thrilled and strangely fascinated by the annals of superstition. These tales Sharpe mentions in a letter to his friend of August 27, 1802: "I remember in my childhood being terrified by stories of spectres at the Blacket-house, the residence of her [Fair Ellen of Kirkconnel's] murderer . . . and that an old woman, the last descendant of the family of Bell, resided in Ecclefechan, who was said to be a witch, the devil himself being her waiting-maid, and assisting her to get out of bed when her infirmities prevented her from moving."<sup>44</sup> Like Scott, Sharpe recorded the progress of his supernatural studies in notebooks and diaries: "[Read] Aubrey's 'Miscellanies,' amusing beyond measure" (March 21, 1804); long extract about Manningtree witchcraft of 1645; "A monkey (a devil) beats a wizzard very sore. 'Theatre of God's Judgments,' 121."<sup>45</sup> This similarity of interests led to a "hobby horsical proposal," which Scott made to his friend on July 6 [?], 1812:

You know I have a fine collection of witch books & such like. Now what think you of a selection of the most striking and absurd stories of apparitions witchcraft demonology & so forth tacked together with ironical disquisitions and occasionally ornamented with historical and antiquarian anecdotes & instead of a broomstick to clap three or four humourous drawings to the tails of our witches. . . . We could divide the literary part of the task as was most agreeable to you. I would not confine ourselves to dry extracts but would abridge & select and ornament the narratives where that was judged more advisable. . . . Pray let me interest you in this matter

For if you deign not to assist  
You make all this an idle dream.<sup>46</sup>

Sharpe's reply of July 21 went into great detail about the frontispiece, illustrations, additional wonders, and modern tales of terror, very few of which were to appear in Scott's belated *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* of 1830. Although the scheme was an excellent one, it had its drawbacks:

Your plan respecting a collection of spectre relations and diabolic agency strikes me as delicious, and whatever is in my limited power

<sup>43</sup> *Catalogue of the . . . Collection . . . of the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe* (1851), pp. 1, 4, 8, 10, 26, 28.

<sup>44</sup> Sharpe's *Letters*, I, 139.

<sup>45</sup> *Etchings by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe* (Edinburgh and London, 1869), pp. 11, 29.

<sup>46</sup> Scott's *Letters*, ed. Grierson, III, 144-5.



to execute shall be done with alacrity; but I see in the plenitude of my wisdom one dreary obstacle to the perfection of the work,—the tiresome shackles of modesty, as it is called, under which we must ply the literary oar; for, under favour, we cannot enter into those curious minutiae of courtship which passed between the devil and the witches, the most amusing article in the whole routine of sorcery; neither enlarge upon particular *malefices* which the hags wrought against young fellows.<sup>47</sup>

Besides exchanging verses and letters on the marvelous, Sharpe and Scott lent each other demonological tomes. In July, 1817, Scott sent his fellow antiquary a copy of George Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*. While editing Robert Law's *Memorials*, a work demanding an introductory treatise on witchcraft, Sharpe asked Scott to cull for him "any books of *Scottish* witchcraft, &c., which your rich library may contain, that will prove helpful unto your humble servant." Scott evidently had his friend in mind when weeding out the duplicates in his library in 1823, for Sharpe wrote, "The books on Magic and Lycanthropie were unto me feasts."<sup>48</sup> Of many like presents which are not specifically mentioned in the correspondence of the two men, attention may be called to *A True Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girl* (Edinburgh, 1698), an exemplar of which in the Treasury Room of the Harvard College Library has a note by Sharpe to the effect that Scott gave him a copy in 1824, and that the author was Francis Grant. Towards the end of his life, Sir Walter presented Sharpe *The Trial of Duncan Terig*, a case involving ghost evidence which he had edited with an introduction for the Bannatyne Club (1831). Thus did these friends freshen each other's interest in the supernatural with new materials and continue to take delight in weird anecdotes and legends. It was with singular appropriateness that Allan Cunningham wrote Sharpe on September 27, 1834: "Now since Sir W. is gone, who is there who knows so much of old Scottish lore as yourself?"<sup>49</sup>

Sharpe's old college friend and fellow antiquarian, Robert Surtees, evinced as a schoolboy a taste for the legendary. According to an anonymous biographer of 1844, perhaps Sir Cuthbert Sharp, he rambled around Houghton-le-Spring desiring "the oldest inhabitants . . . to repeat to him traditional rhymes and legends."<sup>50</sup> Superstitions and intense local color appealed to him: "I buy all that Hogg writes or shall write during our joint lives," he avowed in 1818.<sup>51</sup> An enthusiastic reader of Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*, he re-

<sup>47</sup> Sharpe's *Letters*, I, 570; see also 571-3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 147, 181-2, 269.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449, 480.

<sup>50</sup> *Biographical Notice of Robert Surtees, Esquire* (Newcastle, 1844), p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> C. E. Whiting, "Robert Surtees," *Archaeologia Æliana*, 4th Series, XII (1935), 141.

sponded to the influence of such nerve-tugging literature in his own verse. Thus, while writing a perfectly sincere poem, "Emma's Grave," on the death of a beloved young sister-in-law, Surtees thought in terms of that "sprite" Willie and constant Margret in "Sweet William's Ghost" (Allan Ramsay's *Tea-table Miscellany*). From this Scottish ballad, he lifted two mournful stanzas.

Temperamentally a congeries of sensitive, imaginative, humorous, happy interests and of morbid predilections, the author of the leisurely and impressive *History of Durham* "was constitutionally subject to a nervous irritability of temper." His combination of mirth and melancholy is well illustrated by an anecdote: When entertaining a goodly company at Mainsforth, Surtees glanced at Bradley the sexton, who had been called in to assist the butler, and whispered to a guest, "Do you see that man behind my chair? . . . he'll dig my grave."<sup>82</sup> In 1804-5, Surtees jotted down memoranda about his symptoms, medical treatment, weather changes, deaths and the ages of the victims. Certainly no woman would marry such "a sickly valetudinarian," yet Miss Anne Robinson took the risk in 1807—Surtees, having taken to outdoor employments, was in better health—and had a very happy conjugal life. The latent strain of worry over internal decay cropped up again when Surtees severely injured a finger while pruning a tree. He ran about distractedly and inconsolably, making everyone uncomfortable.<sup>83</sup> Nor were these forebodings entirely groundless. Surtees declined in vigor from 1830 to 1834 and died at the age of fifty-five.

Robert Surtees made a hobby of warlock studies, his attitude toward which is best expressed in a letter of March 24, 1819, to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe: "I do trust you will go on throwing out from time to time successive portions of recondite Scots history, and specially diablerie of all sorts; in which, though I have none of your faith, my imagination is horribly interested."<sup>84</sup> In gathering illustrative material for new editions of the *Minstrelsy*, Surtees shared with Scott the same romantic inquisitiveness about the supernatural which he displayed in his letters to Sharpe. He wrote invitingly on September 2, 1809: "I have for you at home a Collection of Durham Diablerie & could almost publish a Pandoemonium Dunelmenae—There is a striking similarity between our Superstitions & the Scottish." Scott rose to the bait on the seventeenth,

<sup>82</sup> *Biographical Notice*, pp. 17, 18, note.

<sup>83</sup> Whiting, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 141.

<sup>84</sup> George Taylor, *A Memoir of Robert Surtees*, ed. James Raine, *Publications of the Surtees Society*, XXIV (1852), 388. The *Memoir*, dated May 1839, first appeared in Surtees' *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (London, 1816-40).

hinting at collaboration on a devil book: "I rejoice in the progress of your demoniacal collection; we will have a meeting one day upon the Border, and compile a system of Daemonology, with the choicest examples which out-of-the-way reading and hoary-headed tradition can supply." He then spoke of "that horrid wretch Mary Bateman, the witch and poisoner," whose history, "more that of a fiend incarnate than a woman," had "set all the old superstitions afloat," among them being that of the barghest.<sup>85</sup> This same Mary, the servant of those who wanted fortunes told, protection granted against *evil wishes*, lovers bound, marriages or abortions brought about, and safe voyages assured, was the heroine of several chap-books. One of these has a circumstantial title, *The Yorkshire Witch; or the extraordinary life and character of Mary Bateman: giving an account of her various frauds, impositions, crimes and murders; her supposed dealings with the Devil! and her execution at the Castle of York, on the 20th March, 1809* (Otley, no date).

The Durham Oldbuck seems not to have responded to Scott's wistful proposal, but he did write on December 14, 1811: "If I can find anything romantic, superstitious, or diabolical, relative to Barnard Castle, you shall hear again . . . Would that you would set forth a collection of ghosts and apparitions, with a laudable preface for the putting down of atheism and irreligion." Inasmuch as the bulk of Surtees' work was to be antiquarian-historical and of Scott's, creative, the two friends naturally tended to treat the supernatural in a somewhat different spirit—a difference which is heightened by the former's more consistent objectivity. Although George Taylor did not recognize the note of skepticism which became increasingly evident in the Great Unknown's later works, his fine comparison of the men is well worth quoting:

On this subject there is a remarkable contrast between him and his friend Sir Walter Scott, who seems to have retained a lingering wish to believe, and to perpetuate the belief, in preternatural powers, and events produced by their agency; for, where such powers are given to his fictitious personages, he uniformly makes the event verify the prediction. Mr. Surtees was an enthusiast on these subjects; cherishing them, for delight of the imagination, as much as Sir Walter Scott could do; and took especial care "that no particle of the ancient superstition should be lost by his laches:" but in his style of recording such, as matters of history, there is always a covert, yet tender, ridicule observable.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Scott's *Letters*, ed. Grierson, II, 245, note 1, and 246.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-8, 80, 81-2, 94, 118, 143-4; see pp. 233-5 for fragments of Surtees' "Poem on the Superstitions of the North."

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The seven demonologists whose lives, opinions, and activities have been presented rather one-sidedly in this study because of its special emphasis were bound together by a common regard for Scott and, except for Maturin, by interlacing ties of friendship. Although the life pursuits of the men may have been languages, literature, the theater, divinity, antiquarian investigation, county history, or even tortured self knowledge, demonology was their hobby and sometimes, for brief periods, their prime interest. Attitudes toward the supernatural, of course, changed with the years, but Hogg, Gillies, Maturin, Lewis, and Sharpe show restless change rather than any true maturing process. Leyden and Hogg came of vigorous common stock, were geniuses of the self-made variety, and in their eccentric self-assurance stood alone. The others shared varying degrees of advantage of birth; frail, ill, or at least uncertain health; bookishness and high imagination; the early stimulus of story-tellers who were steeped in local balladry and traditions; parental indulgence; leisure; fits of moody melancholy.

In many respects, Scott belonged to the second group of demonologists. Indeed, a superficially convincing case could be made out for his inclusion among the more decadent members. Professor Grierson's *Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*<sup>57</sup> could be appropriately quoted: "From both the paternal and the maternal side Scott and his brothers and sisters derived an unhealthy, even decadent, strain." As great a Scott enthusiast as John Ruskin traced a certain recurrent emphasis on deformity, grossness, and violence in the Waverley novels to a brain disease of the author. Ruskin brought together in a gruesome fashion the milk of Scott's consumptive nurse, the infanticidal madness of another nurse, teething fever and lameness [infantile paralysis], childhood "visions," the death of an unfortunate sister, the axe-murder of a grand aunt, tales of Carlisle executions, the bursting of a blood-vessel followed by a nervous illness, and other horrors.<sup>58</sup> It would not be difficult to follow the execution *motif* through the novelist's life, skillfully playing up his ironical comment on Thurtell's murder of Weare, "Admirable recipe for low spirits," or his admiration for Theodore Hook's quatrain—

They cut his throat from ear to ear,  
His brains they battered in;  
His name was Mr William Weare,  
He dwelt in Lyon's Inn.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Columbia University Press (1938), p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> "Fiction, Fair and Foul," *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn (London, 1903-12), XXXIV, 276, 278, note.

<sup>59</sup> J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh and London, 1837-8), VI, 330, and VII, 140-2.

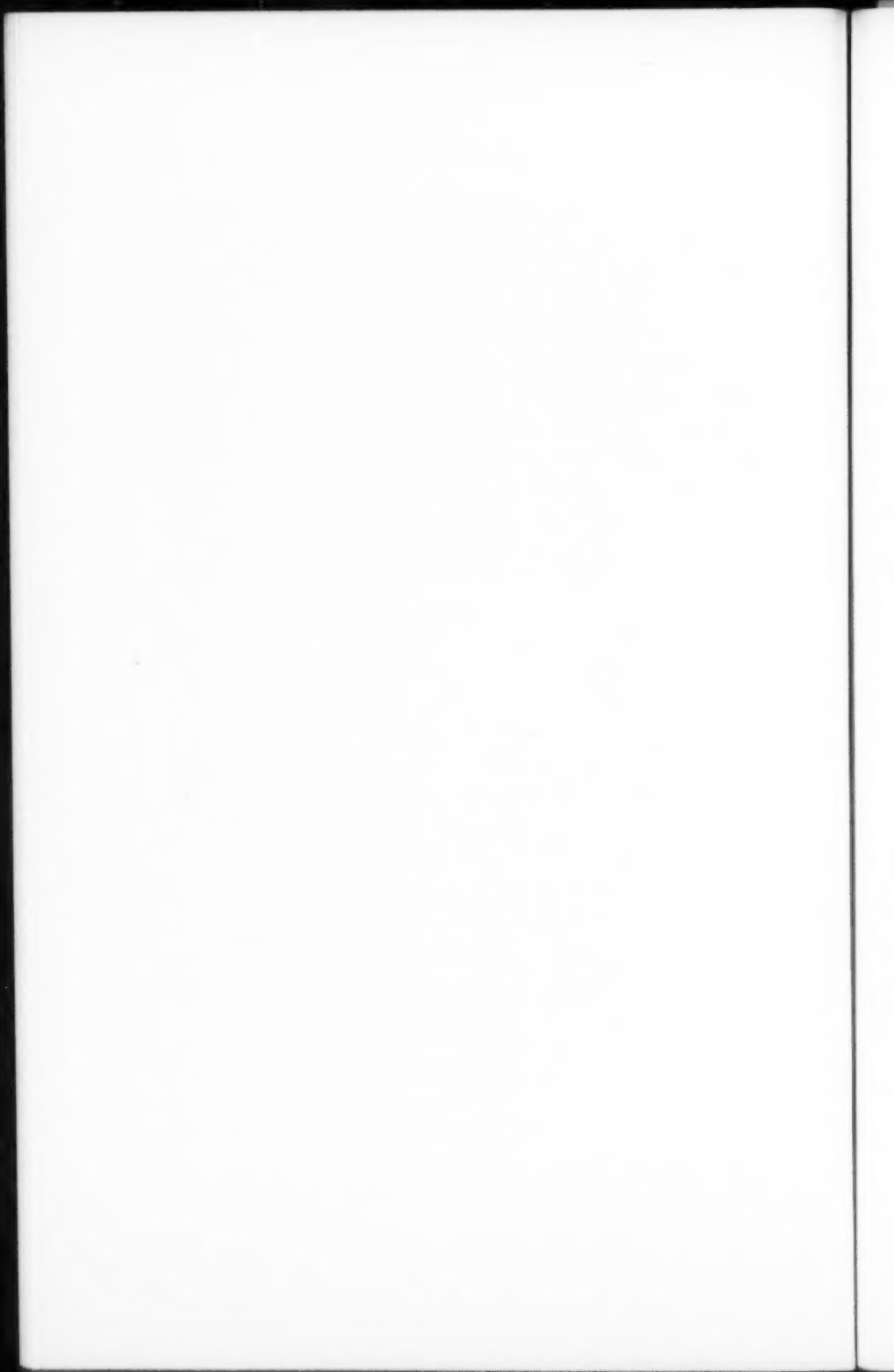
Then, too, Anne Scott wrote Sharpe on December 28, 1828, about "these delightful horrors in Edinburgh," the smothering of at least sixteen persons whose bodies were sold to the medical school; Papa wants "to share a window with you on the day Mr. Burke is hanged." During the trial and execution, however, Scott was disgusted by the mob's brutality and eagerness for bloody details.<sup>60</sup>

The morbid strain in Scott's nature was kept within limits by a wholesome sense of total human values. Scott shared with Hogg and Leyden health, sanity, and outdoor interests which neutralized the evils of sedentary labors. Like Samuel Johnson, when "distressed by melancholy" or an overheated imagination, Scott had sufficient eighteenth-century common sense to seek the right remedy. As Boswell indicated, Johnson "had been obliged to fly from study and meditation, to the dissipating variety of life." The Border minstrel early decided to control his emotions and pursuits lest they gain the mastery over him. It is Scott's strength and his weakness that he less and less frequently allowed creations of the mind to crowd the world into a corner.

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<sup>60</sup> D. Fraser-Harris, "Sir Walter Scott and the West Port Atrocities," *The Cornhill Magazine*, 3rd Series, LXII (1927), 23-32.



## REVIEWS

*Christian Heinrich Schmid and His Translations of English Dramas 1767-1789.* By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 26, No. 1. Pp. x + 122. \$1.25.

This illuminating study adds to the growing sheaf of detailed extensions of the author's vast bibliographical explorations. Professor Price does not overstate the case for Schmid. He makes it clear that he is introducing a diligent dweller in the German Grub Street, who, as holder of professorates at the Universities of Erfurt and Giessen, was exempted from living in garrets, but who nevertheless won no very gratifying position in the world of letters. From the leaders in literary officialdom, Herder, Lessing, Nicolai, Lenz, and others, Schmid received little more than condescension or open contempt. He occupies a footnote in the career of Goethe which records a meeting between the two. The main result for Schmid was to be alluded to later by the author of *Götz von Berlichingen* as "ein wahrer Esel." Still, as Professor Price shows, in the following year, 1774, Schmid published a competent brochure reviewing *Götz*. He gives an early and accurate estimate of the qualities of Storm and Stress art and the living reconstruction of medieval life in Goethe's drama.

In a sense, Schmid is that recurrent figure, the man born out of his time. Methodical and assiduous, though not always accurate, as translator and compiler he is decidedly not an original genius. Viewed on the basis of the burgeoning pre-Romantic standards of the period of his most earnest activities, he appears as a logical candidate for Pope's *Dunciad*. On the other hand, viewed historically in terms of the expanding spirit of German emancipation from French domination in life and letters, particularly as encouraged by English liberal ideas and standards, he emerges as a figure of some significance. In the twenty-two years from 1767 to 1789 Schmid translated twenty-nine English plays. The fact that all but nine were comedies gives fairly accurate evidence of the proportionate German interest in the English stage. The primary appeal lay not in poetic, literary values, but in the bustle and mirth and crackling dialogue of a comic spirit that shared the stage with satire and the middle-class vogue of realistic portrayal of everyday life.

Schmid began his career as importer of English drama by translating four of Steele's comedies, in his *Steelens Lustspiele*, and Crowne's *Sir Courtly Nice*, as *Sir Phantast; oder Es kann nicht seyn*, both dated 1767. Each of the seven volumes of his important *Englisches Theater* (1769-1777) contains three plays, but only one trag-



edy appears per volume. In the *Vorrede* he recognizes that English tragedy is well known and its excellence unquestioned in Germany. It is true that Schmid's greatest success, in spite of the emphasis on comedy, came in the translation in Volume V which is called *Die Gunst der Fürsten*. However, in spite of the wide popularity of his ingenious fusing of the work of four English plays on the Earl of Essex, it is the measure of his limited success. He could contemplate only the dubious triumph of seeing his work incorporated into the ultimate version, one which Price aptly dubs the Bank-Brooke-Jones-Ralph-Lessing-Schmid-Mendelssohn-Dyk-Schröder *Graf von Essex*.

It was Schmid's original and frequently reiterated ambition to see English plays naturalized on the German stage. In his *Anweisung der Vornehmsten Bücher in allen Theilen der Dichtkunst* (1781) he makes special reference to his translations from Steele and to the *Englisches Theater* "worinnen ich solche Stücke übersetzte, die ich für teutsche Bühne brauchbar hielt." Although Professor Price does not appear to have drawn directly on this work, he makes it clear that Schmid had ample reason to look back on his own efforts in such a mood of implied apology. Thirteen of his translations were rather promptly crowded off the stage by superior versions from other hands. Even so, Schmid's ultimate purpose was served. His work was heavily plundered by more successful men, Bock, Jünger, and notably Schröder, who reworked four of Schmid's translations for his own theater.

What estimate, then, is to be made of Schmid's activities as mediator between the English and German stages? While no flattering picture can be drawn of him as artist, or even critic, it still seems that Price could have established a more positive defense on historical grounds. His own previous publications would provide the best authority for such an interpretation. He shows that Schmid is at least following the course charted by Lessing as early as 1759 and re-emphasized in his Hamburg period (1767-69). It is notable that this latter period coincides precisely with the years when Schmid was entering on his work as translator. For all his limitations in accuracy, taste, and expertness in handling either English or German, Schmid's work held true to Lessing's purpose. This called for preference of English dramas over French, the adaptation of these to the German stage by simplification of action in comedy, the toning down of rhetorical rant toward a more natural prose in tragedy, and a more plausible, human tone in both. Though a humble link between Lessing, the literary statesman, and Schröder, the man of action, on and for the German stage, Schmid is nonetheless a link. The fidelity and extent of his devotion to English literature and ideas make him a man of quantity, for his translating included much outside the field of drama, but quantity has its place. A certain respect is deserved by any man who introduces even one new work each of Jonson, Farquhar, Frances Sheridan, Banks, Kenrick, and Miller, besides giving new versions of a dozen others, from Dryden to Goldsmith.

Professor Price emphasizes the rarity of Schmid's translations, a point of increased significance in view of the almost certain destruction of books in the present conflict. It is futile to speculate on the matter now; but more copies than Price supposes did exist up to the time of his investigations. He states that, aside from incomplete series, the two complete sets of the *Englisches Theater* in Vienna and Mannheim are "apparently the only ones available." The writer used complete sets in the Staatstheater Museum in Berlin and in the Theater Museum in Munich, besides that in Mannheim. A better case for extreme rarity might be made for *Steelens Lustspiele* of which only two copies are noted. Still, the writer was able to secure an uncut copy. On the whole, German theater libraries and such establishments as the Lessing Museum, the Schneider Sammlung which is attached to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, and similar collections in Mannheim, Leipzig, Cologne, impress one with the abundance of material, translated, adapted, or freely imitated, from the English stage. It is to be hoped that it can still be said to have survived. To this abundance Christian Heinrich Schmid was an unassuming, generous, and neglected contributor.

Errors appear to be at a near minimum in this careful work. Spellings of *appellation* and *skilfully* on pages 9 and 15 respectively call for correction; the umlaut is missing in *Götter*, page 14; Piron's play should be *La*, not *Le*, *Métromanie*; on page 18 the Germanic "the" should be deleted before "nearby Giessen"; the apostrophe is missing in *Price's* on page 52. More serious distress, to the author at least, lies in the substitution of Schmid's name for Reichard's under the photograph of the title page from the latter's *Olla Potrida*, page 82; for the insertion of Colman's *Man of Business* for the same author's *The English Merchant*, page 34; and the confusion of the two Corneilles in the Index. The correct reading for the last should be: Corneille, P., 63, 86; Corneille, T., 2, 67, 72, 84.

On page 52 the translator of *Drei Lustspiele a.d.E. des Ritters Vanbrugh* is properly left anonymous. Examination of the work, however, shows that the author gives some clue to his identity. In his introduction the unknown admits to the authorship of *Das Mayfest. Ein Nachspiel* which he attaches as a kind of rider to the Vanbrugh translations, as he puts somewhat cryptically, "um das Alphabet zu ergänzen." Publication in Basel "bey Johann Jacob Schrandorf" suggests that the translator may have been Swiss.

ROBERT D. HORN

University of Oregon

*The Writings of Jakob Wassermann.* By JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1942. Pp. 410. \$3.75.

In the same year (1897) which saw the publication of Jakob Wassermann's first successful novel, *The Jews of Zirndorf*, Richard M. Meyer said in his *Deutsche Charaktere*: "The German novel on the whole does not measure up either to the English, which is infinitely richer in experience, or to the French, which is far more fortunate in its natural endowment; it mostly uses experience as well as structure merely as an occasion for a loose assemblage of psychological detail studies" (p. 22). We shall do well to bear in mind these significant words when scanning the art of Jakob Wassermann.

The *fin de siècle* atmosphere, in which he started off on his career, left indelible marks on his entire production. A multitude of heterogeneous currents were striking simultaneously the German literary scene, and made for a turmoil in which *Die Moderne* was born. Nietzsche and Wagner, Balzac and Flaubert, Naturalism and Symbolism, Ibsen and the great Russians determined the course of the new Storm and Stress, and their conflicting tendencies were complicated in Wassermann's case by his Jewish birth and consciousness. His native sensitiveness and Romanticism were not restrained by home or school discipline, and his exuberant imagination was not bridled by inborn taste or systematic schooling. Thus, he remained a self-taught man until the end, and the hiatus in his upbringing may account for a good deal of his failings and shortcomings.

Many of his themes were rooted in his Romanticism and in his personal experiences, particularly his ever-recurring cry for justice, social and personal alike. The technique of his longer novels, too, harked back to that of the minor Romanticists. Sue and Gutzkow were his masters rather than Balzac, although some features of the *Comédie Humaine*, perhaps through the medium of the Rougon-Macquarts, are apparent in his stories. Unfortunately, he learned more from *The Wandering Jew* and *The Mysteries of Paris* than from anything else despite an early profession of faith in Flaubert's impassibility, illustrating the Ovidian *Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor*. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt as to the earnestness and sincerity of his philosophy, and to his high conception of the writer's calling. But his lack of taste and formal training lured him to seek sensationalism and melodrama, and to link the sublime with the ridiculous of the dime novel. Like a reincarnation of a Restif de la Bretonne and a Choderlos de Laclos, he too often reveled in the portrayal of ordure with a perfectly moral purpose, so as to be able to point to death as the wages of sin. The same lack of formal training explains his occasional nonchalance as to the intellectual property of others. His immense, popular and inter-

national success, his sharp criticism of the German psyche and mores, and his apocalyptic tone aroused resentment in Germany, and academic criticism had vociferously pointed out his obvious weaknesses ever since S. Lublinski's early diatribe (*Die Bilanz der Moderne* [Berlin, 1904], pp. 235 ff.) which nicknamed him "Jakob the Great."

Yet Wassermann was a born story-teller. When he was able to practice self-restraint, particularly in his shorter tales, in which his style followed the massive concision of *Michael Kohlhaas*, he created works of haunting beauty and permanent value; *The Sisters*, *Sturrganz*, and *The Golden Mirror* will long outlive the vagaries of *The World's Illusion*. His autobiographical *My Life as German and Jew* in its simple and courageous frankness will always rank high in its genre, not only as a prophetic presentiment of things to come but also as an eloquent protest against a tragic aberration of the German mind. In this connection, the reviewer questions Professor Blankenagel's adoption of the Nazi term "Aryan," used several times without quotation marks, as the designation of a non-Jew (e.g., pp. 18, 351).

Professor Blankenagel's study on Wassermann will be welcome to students of contemporary German and world literature. After a brief biographical and introductory sketch, the author discusses Wassermann's productions in four groups, each in chronological order, his biographical and autobiographical writings, and his dramas. A bibliography of the principal works of Wassermann in German and in English, and a brief list of Wassermann literature and an Index complete the volume.

The introductory sketch is desultory, and part of it would have more appropriately belonged in a final chapter. The results of this bird's-eye view are largely negative, and will not induce the reader to dip into the voluminous writings of Wassermann. While the reviewer wholly agrees with Professor Blankenagel's well-considered and unbiased conclusions, he wonders if many a reader will not raise the question whether it was worth the effort to devote four hundred and ten pages to the study of a writer whose "work is of very uneven quality," who "has written some novels of almost model compactness," and "others that are loosely connected," and "are marred by extravagance, sensationalism, improbabilities and violent antitheses," and who "did not hesitate to avail himself of the devices of penny-shockers without refining them." The proper reply upon the objection would have been a study of the literary-historical background of Wassermann, a scrutiny of the style and structure of his productions, and an investigation into the influence which he may have exerted upon his contemporaries. On all these points we receive scanty information from the book under review. Wassermann was considered a neo-Romantic (e.g., by Mahrholz), and a predecessor of the Expressionists (by Soergel); attention

has been called to the rhetorical qualities of his style (e.g., by W. Schneider), and his technique and his relationship to psycho-analysis has been touched upon by Walzel—these problems could have been considered fully and profitably in a new work on Wassermann. Likewise, a systematic sifting of critical comment on him would have been far more instructive than quoting a few random remarks of Arnold Bennett, Edward Crankshaw, and Maurice Muret.

The strictly chronological analysis of Wassermann's works, which takes up the bulk of the volume, will be found helpful and well worth reading. One meets here a wealth of seasoned and judicious observations. But the lack of synthesis will be felt all the more keenly by the reader, who will lay down the book, regretting that this monograph, which could have become a valuable contribution to the study of the German mind in the last four decades, leaves his many questions unanswered.

ARPAD STEINER

Hunter College

*The Medieval French "Roman d'Alexandre."* By E. C. ARMSTRONG and ALFRED FOULET. Vol. IV, "*Le Roman du Fier de Gades*" d'Eustache: Essai d'établissement de ce poème du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle tel qu'il a existé avant d'être incorporé dans le *Roman d'Alexandre*, avec les deux récits Latins qui lui sont apparentés; vol. V, *Version of Alexandre de Paris*. Variants and notes to Branch II. [With an Introduction by Frederick B. Agard.] Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942 (Elliott Monographs, nos. 39 and 40). Vol. IV, pp. vii + 110; vol. V, pp. v + 250. \$5.00, bound in one volume, not sold separately.

As all specialists in the field of Old French are well aware, a group project to publish the *Roman d'Alexandre* and affiliated romances has been under way for years at Princeton University under the direction of the distinguished mediaevalist, Professor Edward C. Armstrong. The labors of Mr. Armstrong and his associates to accomplish this enormous task have already been highly fruitful. Besides a substantial number of studies and editions of the affiliated romances in Old French and Old Spanish, put forth in the decade before 1937, the Princeton group published in that year the text of the Arsenal and Venice versions of the *R d'A* and that of the version of Alexandre de Paris (Vols. I and II of the *Mediaeval French "Roman d'Alexandre"*). With the publication of the volumes here under review, there are made available the variants and notes of Branch II of A. de P.'s version (including the text, variants and notes of the beta version of that portion of Branch II having to do with the *Fier de Gades* episode), and a reconstituted text of the lost *Roman du fier de Gades* by one Eustache, which

was presumably the source for a substantial portion of the first 2000 verses of Branch II.<sup>1</sup>

Anyone who examines carefully the contents of these two volumes cannot fail to be impressed—well-nigh overwhelmed, in fact—by the enormous mass of detailed information, meticulously classified and ordered, which they contain. Vol. IV, the work of Professors Armstrong and Alfred Foulet, traces the history of the *Fuerre de Gadres* episode from its inception in the *Historia de Preliis* (third redaction, chs. 26, 27) of the Archpriest Leo to its reworking by A. de P. and introduction into the latter's version of the *R d'A*, as well as its immediately subsequent fortunes. Vol. IV presents also a critical edition of chapters 26 and 27 of the *Hist. de Prel.* (3d redaction); a critical edition of a fourteenth-century Latin translation of what is deemed by the editors the lost O. F. *Fuerre de Gadres* of the Eustache mentioned by A. de P.; and, finally, an extraction from Branch II of A. de P. supplemented by other resources and supported by detailed arguments, of the original text of Eustache's poem.

Here the present reviewer, without wishing to detract one whit from the brilliance of this *tour de force*, must avow himself slightly skeptical. We know the work of the Norman Alexandre de Paris only through Picard MSS, and thus the shadowy work of Eustache—of whatever dialect—has to be viewed through the same glass, darkly. What Messrs. Armstrong and Foulet have recovered is certainly at least *close* to some archetype x, and *probably* this archetype was the work of the Eustache to whom A. de P. makes reference. But incontrovertibly this recovered material is still almost entirely in the language of the Branch II extant MSS. Moreover, despite Paul Meyer's famous division of A. de P.'s work into "branches," retained by the present editors, it is clear that the formal beginning of the *Fuerre de Gadres* has not yet been recovered. O. F. poets and minstrels did not normally begin poems of this type abruptly *in medias res*. However, Professor Grace Frank has already commented adequately on this point (*MLN*, LVIII, 204, q. v.).

In Vol. II, for the stanzas 1-79 of Branch II of A. de P.'s version, the editors had limited themselves to presenting a reconstitution of the alpha family of MSS, their reason being that "radical differences exist between the narratives contained in the alpha family and beta family of manuscripts." This area of the poem covers most of the *Fuerre de Gadres* episode. Hence in his lengthy introduction to Vol. V, Professor F. B. Agard deals *in extenso* with the beta version, presenting text, variants, and notes for all stanzas absent from alpha. Moreover, he offers evidence that the

<sup>1</sup> Prospective users of the new volumes (IV and V) should consult the diagram of the component elements of the *R d'A* shown in Vol. II, p. ix, as well as the diagram of the Latin and French versions to be found in Vol. IV, p. viii. Vol. III, to contain the variants and notes to Branch I of the version of A. de P., has not yet been published.

beta version reproduces an earlier "Gadifer Version" which had circulated as a separate poem. Of this Gadifer Version he presents an intensive study, followed by a thorough treatment of all the MSS of the *Fuerre de Gadres*. Mr. Agard's conclusions concerning the high degree of instability of the *F. de G.* MS tradition by comparisons with parts of the *R d'A*, seem irrefutable. The remaining portion of Vol. V consists of the variants and notes to Branch II of A. de P., including separate listings for alpha and beta MSS covering stanzas 1-79.

The present reviewer stands in awe before the concrete evidence of such a tremendous amount of scholarly labor, obviously done with extreme competence, and he admires the frank fashion in which large numbers of faulty text readings of Branch II (printed in Vol. II) are listed as errata and corrected in the Notes.

Two very trivial criticisms: Vol. V, p. 143, beta 161.1, v. 23, the failure to expand *x* to *us* in *miex miex* is inconsistent with the general practice of the editors; p. 185 note to 49, 1134-38, not to amend *Aristé* to *Aristés* seems an excess of caution.

Mediaevalists, while renewing their congratulations to the Princeton group, will of course await the appearance of the remaining volumes announced for publication before passing definitive judgment on this great enterprise as conceived and carried on by Mr. Armstrong and his associates.

EDWIN B. PLACE

Northwestern University

*Voltaire, Pascal and Human Destiny.* By MINA WATERMAN. New York: King's Crown Press, 1942. Pp. xvi + 130. \$1.75.

That Pascal's work was a constant irritant to Voltaire's mind has justly become a commonplace of Voltaire scholarship. Yet, until the appearance of Dr. Waterman's book, nobody had undertaken a close and complete study of the problem. Judging from the lists of references to Pascal and to problems relating to the subject which the author has compiled in her various appendixes, she has made a serious effort at completeness.

Unfortunately, she has attempted to organize her material systematically rather than chronologically, as her chapter-headings reveal.<sup>1</sup> A book of scarcely 106 pages is hardly long enough to deal with her subject in this fashion, especially since it appears in the very shadow of Professor Torrey's *Spirit of Voltaire*. For though one might well center such an essay around Voltaire's reactions to Pascal's thought, one cannot do so merely by studying those of his

<sup>1</sup> I. Man's Relationship and Obligations to the Universe and to Society. II. The Powers of Reason. III. Rationalism and the Supernatural.



texts in which Pascal's name appears, as Dr. Waterman's appendix B tacitly confesses. Furthermore, she has missed some very revealing documents. For example, two letters of Voltaire to Frederick, Jan. 23, Mar. 8, 1738, dealing with Free-will: e.g., "Le plus terrible argument qu'on eût jamais apporté contre notre liberté est l'impossibilité d'accorder avec elle la prescience de Dieu" (Jan. 23, 1738). As it is, though she has tried to be more complete, she has hardly advanced us further than has J.-R. Carré (*Réflexions sur l'anti-Pascal de Voltaire*, Paris, 1935).

The unpublished M.A. thesis by Dr. S. J. Copans (*Voltaire as Critic of Pascal*, Brown University, 1936) had already demonstrated, by more strictly chronological treatment of the material, that Voltaire's criticisms of Pascal in the *Remarques* tended to be metaphysical and abstract, while those of the *Dernières Remarques* have a tendency toward the historical and concrete. A fuller study along this line might have been one of a series, which we very badly need, revealing the various Voltaires in terms of space and time. Such a series is necessary before any further systematic treatment of him can be fruitful.

In the meantime one should be careful of accepting, out of context, such glittering generalizations as that, "Voltaire . . . was philosophically speaking the greatest and most complete of the classicists" (quoted from Torrey, *The Spirit of Voltaire*, p. 104), or that, "The age of the Enlightenment was in some respects more classical than the Golden Age itself" (p. 104), or "The conflict between Christian and pagan ideals reached a climax in the opposition of the eighteenth century to Pascal" (p. 106). Is it a "fact," that "Pascal and Voltaire shared the fruits of centuries of pagan wisdom concerning mankind" (p. 102)? Would it not be better to discover from a good Encyclopedia the title of Father Quesnel's *Réflexions morales* (p. 6), rather than to regale us with man's "struggle in the shifting sands of an amoral earth" (p. 34)?<sup>2</sup> If Voltaire was no friend to the Jews, either contemporary or Old Testament (p. 84, n. 59), let us admit it, whether we like it or not. He was no friend to rhetoric or to "enthusiasts" either.

ROGER B. OAKE

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<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, to place de Noailles' recommendation of *Réflexions morales* in 1699 might be an excusable error; in 1698 he was busy with the printing of his own edition of the book. But to leave him Bishop of Châlons at that time is scarcely accurate. See A. Gazier, *Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste*, 1922, Vol. I, cap. 13 and *passim*.

*A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. Part V, Recapitulation, 1610-1700.* By HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 235. \$5.00.

In the Introduction to Part IV of his *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Professor Lancaster, taking cognizance of the difficulty of giving "unity to so large an amount of material" and of enabling "a reader to follow general tendencies while he is becoming acquainted with so much detail," proposed "to add a ninth volume of general conclusions, which could be arrived at only after the eight were written." The relatively slender volume before us is the fulfilment of that promise. It contains, besides the text proper (148 pages), a Supplement to Parts I-IV, a Subject-Index of Parts I-V, a Finding List of Plays and a General Index of Parts I-V. Students who cannot afford to purchase the whole set of volumes will thus find Part V worth possessing for itself, as it contains not only the most authoritative brief history of the French drama of the seventeenth century available, but also the keys to the vast riches of the other volumes.

To recommend the book would be an impertinence in the eyes of all who are familiar with Professor Lancaster's work—and that means every serious student of French literature all over the world; for it is obvious that he knows more about the French drama of the seventeenth century than any man has known in the past. This volume in which he gives us the quintessence of the reading and reflection of a lifetime is as much a masterpiece of compression as the preceding volumes are masterpieces of detailed research. In fact the compression is so great as to result sometimes in a density of texture that makes assimilation more difficult than did the circumstantiality of the other volumes. That is why I have some qualms about Professor Lancaster's comparison of his ninth volume to "an entrance to the building, added after the main portion of the structure has been completed." Rather it seems analogous to some lofty vantage-point in a great city like the roof of Rockefeller Center or the towers of Notre-Dame, affording a *vue d'ensemble* which places the various sights and monuments in the proper relations to each other, and which is therefore more meaningful and profitable to a tourist who has already visited those sights and monuments on the ground than to one who is getting his initiation from an eyrie.

The more important of the "general conclusions" which Professor Lancaster arrives at as the result of his researches are the following. French drama of the seventeenth century, far from being confined to stately tragedy and high comedy, blossoms out in a great variety of *genres* (tragi-comedy, pastoral, farce, "machine"-play, opera). The "rules" exercised less of a tyranny than is supposed. Plays were not addressed to an élite but to the general public,

as in Greece and England. The French drama does not exist in a vacuum nor is it an imitation of Greek or Latin drama; it is rooted in the life of the time and country like other national dramas; the politics, wars, religion and social customs of seventeenth-century France are reflected both in tragedy and comedy. Foreign literary sources, when used, were freely adapted to French usage. In the composition of rôles, dramatists often had the special gifts of great actors in mind. Finally, by neglecting all but three of the vast company of dramatists, we have acquired a distorted view of the drama of the time taken as a whole.

It is in order to correct this false perspective that the main body of the "Recapitulation" is devoted to a rapid survey of all the dramas of the century which the author considers significant. Particularly noteworthy here—in view of the indifference to aesthetic values often imputed to modern literary scholars—is Professor Lancaster's concern, not only with the usual erudite data, but with the critical appraisal of every play he mentions. It is true that he does not venture into metaphysical subtleties or abandon scholarly understatement for romantic ecstasy; a more contagious gusto at times might win him more converts from among the uninitiated, but I take it that he is not particularly addressing the latter. Similarly, one might be tempted to wish that the pre-eminence of Corneille, Molière and Racine had been emphasized by a warmer tone and a more detailed analysis of their style (the salt that preserves writing from decay, as Professor Lancaster well realizes); but, once again, we must remind ourselves that the whole enterprise had its origin in a desire not to sound again, after so many others, the praise of "three names, isolated from those of their fellows and supposed to represent the whole dramatic life of the seventeenth century in France" but "to hear the claims of minor authors who complement the work of greater men." [Professor Lancaster's skill in adjusting nicely these claims is beyond all praise; for the first time we are able to view the dramatic art of seventeenth-century France in proper focus.]

This is a fitting moment to congratulate Professor Lancaster upon the completion of the task of a lifetime. He has raised for himself a monument *aere perennius*, one of the great achievements of literary scholarship of all time, that has put all students of French literature, present and future, in his debt and that will enable more speculative critics to build, if they so desire, on foundations well and truly laid.

A. F. B. CLARK

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*The "Vita Sancti Malchi" of Reginald of Canterbury.* A critical edition, with Introduction, Apparatus Criticus, Notes and Indices, by LEVI ROBERT LIND. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1942. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 3 and 4. Pp. 245. \$3.00, paper; \$3.50, cloth.

The appearance and format of this beautifully printed book pleasantly invite the attention of several fields of scholarship. Careful study and editing have made available an hitherto unprinted work by Reginald of Canterbury, namely, his poetical embellishment and expansion of Jerome's life of St. Malchus. Dr. Lind examined the available manuscripts, six in number, chose the Bodleian MS, Laud, Misc. 40 (ca. 1130) as his basic text, and presented the variants of the other manuscripts, together with the pertinent passages from Jerome's life of the saint. In addition, he added a transcription of the short form of Reginald's poem as it appears in MS (Merton College, 241, Oxford). Introductory matter is presented briefly, and contains a discussion of Reginald's life and work, an outline of the contents of the longest version of the life, and a description of the manuscripts and their relationship. Following the texts, pertinent notes, bibliography, and indexes complete the editor's contributions.

Dr. Lind has been modest in his attitude toward the importance of his text. Reginald was not a first-rate writer. His most important work had to wait until the present edition to find a modern printing. The minor poems were printed in the last century by Thomas Wright and others. For mediaevalists, Reginald's work is important as a reflection of the learning of a lesser light, whose activities in literary matters fall in the second half of the eleventh century. Dr. Lind has traced a good many of Reginald's trappings and borrowings from other authors, both classical and mediaeval. No doubt, specialists in particular authors may find further echoes. The reconstruction of the mediaeval library during any particular period in any circumscribed area is, of course, one of the chief reasons for printing a text of this sort. Literary procedure is readily visible in Reginald's development of his text. Jerome's brief account of St. Malchus occupies only a few columns in Migne (*P.L.*, XXIII, 55-60). Reginald expanded his concise source into 3,344 hexameters, divided into six books. Nothing essential was added to the basic outline of the story, a narrative which may well have been based upon reality. Jerome affirmed that he had obtained the story from the saint himself. The legend is characteristic of the region and time of its origin. Malchus was a native of Maronia, Syria, in the fourth century. He rejected a marriage proposed by his parents (a theme familiar in the legend of St. Alexis). Leaving home, he became a monk at a monastery in Chalcis. After some years, care for the fate of his parents led him to desert his monastic home against the advice of his abbot. The caravan of which Malchus was

a member was captured by Saracens. Malchus and the wife of a fellow-traveler fell to the lot of one of the bandits. Malchus kept the flock of his new master so well, that the latter insisted that he take the female slave for wife, hereafter called Malcha. Only the threat of death made Malchus accept this enforced gift. In the privacy of their cave, the two agreed to continent lives. Eventually the couple escaped to Maronia, after many difficulties, including near recapture by the Saracen and a companion, both of whom a lioness killed without molesting the fugitives.

Reginald's major expansions of the legend occur at three places in the course of the narrative. (1) Book II: The Saracens celebrate their capture of the caravan by games reminiscent of similar affairs in classical accounts. (2) Book IV: The night of the couple's escape gives occasion for a long description from mythology, in which among other matters, the home of Oceanus, Philosophy and her attendant satellites, the muses, ancient poets and philosophers, a long list of rivers, etc., appear. (3) The sixth book contains mostly prayers and hymns to God, the Virgin, Apostles, etc. An interesting example of Reginald's endless variations upon a theme is his development of Malchus' maledictions against himself after his enforced marriage when he felt the dangers inherent in the flesh. Beginning each of sixty-three lines with *Ante*, imprecations against worldly love are built up to successive climaxes. Unpleasant to contemplate are:

Ante pedes podagra manent digitque chiragra;  
Ante meas gambas cancer malus occupet ambas;  
Ante necem mihi do, maculet quam membra libido . . .

Lind points out definite borrowings from Vergil, Ovid, Persius, Terrance, and Lucan of the older writers, and from Hildebert and Martianus Capella of the mediaeval authors. Numerous other suggested parallels from other writers are recorded in the notes. The nature of the pagan allusions sufficed to keep Reginald's work from inclusion in any collection of legends. The basic subject matter is acceptably Christian, but the manner of treatment relates more readily to an early humanistic approach toward a subject. Reginald wrote for the liberally initiated; only they would have appreciated the extent of his familiarity with pagan authors and the parade of his learned allusions. Orthodox hagiological tradition in this instance served as one of the foundations for a new order of letters, however pedestrian and uninspired Reginald's effort may seem at this perspective. The *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists cannot show a parallel creation.

C. GRANT LOOMIS

University of California

*Stephen Gosson, a Biographical and Critical Study.* By WILLIAM RINGLER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. Princeton Studies in English, Vol. 25. Pp. viii + 151. \$2.00.

*Pleasant Quippes for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen.* Edited by EDWIN JOHNSTON HOWARD. Oxford, Ohio: Anchor Press, 1942. Pp. xx + 22. \$1.25.

Mr. Ringler has found a good subject in Stephen Gosson and has written a valuable monograph on it. Gosson's name is tolerably well known, but I should be surprised to learn that, of ten who can tell that he wrote against the stage and was scorned by Sir Philip Sidney, more than one has read what he wrote beyond the extracts given in anthologies. Gosson is the kind of man of whom we need an informed estimate, and this Mr. Ringler has given us.

Mr. Ringler pictures Gosson's literary career as a brief phase in the life of a poor scholar struggling to gain a foothold in an indifferent world. Forced by poverty to leave Oxford without a degree, he tried acting, writing plays and Euphuistic fiction, pamphleteering, and tutoring before he found his true vocation, or at least a vocation in which he was very successful, in the church. This phase lasted not more than five years, from 1577 to 1582; Gosson lived on to become the respected rector of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate and to die full of good works in 1624. Mr. Ringler makes the point that he was not a Puritan, but an exponent of middle-class morality; theologically, he was an orthodox Anglican who, in his single published sermon, violently attacked the Puritans.

As opposition to the stage is the subject of the greater part of Gosson's writings, Mr. Ringler naturally devotes special attention to it. He attributes it to the building of the Theater in 1576. Before that time plays were not common enough to alarm the city fathers, apprehensive of disorder and waste of time, or the preachers and other custodians of public morals, apprehensive of moral deterioration, and therefore nobody bothered to oppose them. *The Schoole of Abuse*, consequently, belongs to the first stage of the attack. It is a temperate and reasonable indictment of the abuses occasioned by plays, not of plays themselves, and it objects to them on social and political rather than theological grounds. Mr. Ringler brings up evidence of various kinds to show that the tract was published, if not subsidized, by the municipal government, and he regards it as the first of several inspired onslaughts. He attributes a commanding influence to it, chiefly because of the effectiveness of the charges of a reformed playwright. Noting the rapidity with which protests against the theaters accumulated and how the demand for the correction of evils gave way to a demand for suppression, he carefully differentiates Gosson's second tract, *Playes Confuted*, from his first. In *Playes Confuted* Gosson trains much heavier batteries on the stage than in *The Schoole of Abuse*. No longer content with decry-

ing the inconveniences attending plays, he summons arguments from Scripture and the fathers to prove them repugnant to God's law. Now he writes with the virtuous indignation of the good man reviled by unscrupulous enemies (but Mr. Ringler exaggerates the difference in style between the two treatises and the excellences of the latter). "*Playes Confuted* is the most carefully considered and acutely argued essay against the drama produced by any Elizabethan or Jacobean critic."

Mr. Ringler has also brought to light useful new facts and ideas about Gosson's life, the influence of his university training on his views and his writings, his sources, and the publication of his works. When he comes to Gosson's influence, however, he insists that *The Schoole of Abuse* provoked *The Defence of Poesie* and that the latter "was prepared as a confutation" of the former. Here he leaves me unconvinced, especially by such statements as "Many passages in the *Defence* are specific answers to particular arguments in the *Schoole of Abuse*." Many particular arguments in *The Schoole of Abuse* are stock objections to poetry, and Miss Samuel and Mr. Dowlin (*MLQ*, I, 383-91; *MLQ*, III, 573-81) have shown that the *Defence* is as much a reply to Plato as to Gosson.

Altogether Mr. Ringler has been very successful in making something significant out of his study of a minor writer. Incidentally, it has yielded certain by-products, already published, as important as the study itself. Mr. Ringler has done his work diligently and has been duly rewarded.

The monograph, printed, presumably by the offset process, from a typescript, has no doubt been economically produced, but it is most unkind to the eyes. I have noticed but few errors, most of them obvious. There is no index.

By coincidence, a page-for-page reprint of *Pleasant Quippes for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen*, a poem long attributed to Gosson, appears at the same time as Mr. Ringler's study. Gosson was exonerated of responsibility for this piece by Mr. Ringler in 1938; the attribution is another fraud perpetrated by J. P. Collier. The editor adds an introduction detailing the history of the printing of the poem and of the question of authorship, a list of textual variants, and a glossary. The poem is a satire which insists, chiefly by coarse innuendo and always in a crabbed style, that feminine finery and easy morals go together. Mr. Howard justifies his publication on the grounds that the half-dozen or more earlier reprints are inaccurate and that "the poem is one of our most important sources of information about Elizabethan costume."

M. A. SHAABER

University of Pennsylvania



*Wordsworth and the Vocabulary of Emotion.* By JOSEPHINE MILES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 181. \$2.00.

*Wordsworth's Pocket Notebook.* Edited, with a Commentary, by GEORGE HARRIS HEALEY. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 106. \$1.50.

Miss Miles avowedly undertook her study because she had found in scholarship no explanation of why a poet of Wordsworth's magnitude and reputation insisted "on what seemed to be the stuff of life in just so many words—hope, joy, fears, tears, laughter, moods, affections, passions, and all the other labeled responses in terms of names of emotions." She already understood, she says, why such material seems "flat, obvious, prosaic" to recent poets and critics, who are "wary of expressed emotion . . . [but] sensitive to emotion unexpressed, contained in detail of sight and sound." Statistical analysis of representative works reveals that Pope named emotion on an average of once in five lines, Johnson once in six, Cowper once in seven, Wordsworth once in six. On the other hand, Jeffers in *Solstice* averages only once in every fifteen, and Eliot in *The Waste Land* only once in twenty-five.

Miss Miles tries to discover in the "climate of opinion" of Wordsworth and his predecessors the reasons for the high place given in poetry to named emotion. Associationist psychology conceived of men as bound together by fundamental laws of human nature and by general similarity of associations. The poet should concern himself with general human response to prime experience, not with the unique individual's response to arbitrary or unusual experience. As Wordsworth said, poetry's "object is truth, not individual and local, but general and operative." Poetic language used names of emotion because poets believed that the names could satisfactorily convey the strength of the generalized feeling. The poet's chief linguistic problem, as Wordsworth saw it, was to avoid words with "associations . . . particular instead of general." His concern with "the real language of men" sprang from his conviction that this common language was least susceptible to perversion by caprices of association. His contemporaries, however, often thought he failed to solve his problem: although they agreed with his theory that poetry should present general human emotions, they rebuked his idiosyncrasy of associating these emotions with an idiot and a leechgatherer, with "weeds and insects."

The exposition of Wordsworth's relation to the theory and technique he inherited seems both sound and timely. But the description of Wordsworth's original contribution is disappointingly vague: more simplicity and sensitivity, more ordinary phraseology, more vivid relationship of emotion to sense perception, more personalized and singularized statement. Miss Miles explains the weakness of the poetry after 1807 by saying "it stopped singularizing. The amount

of statement by the line remained . . . but the statistics do not suggest the 'inner falling off,' which left the meanings of convention unsupported and uncolored by personal inventions and adaptations." But the statistics had likewise failed to suggest the inner enrichment of his earlier poetry. Perhaps because she concurs with the modern school which condemns all statement of emotion, Miss Miles neglects the possibility that, despite Wordsworth's quantitative similarity to his predecessors, a qualitative difference might exist in the *kind* of emotion he named. One would like to know, for example, if in Wordsworth the naming of the melancholy emotions were less frequent, or if the naming of indefinite transcendental emotions were more frequent. The results might not tell us much about the differences in technique and poetic values between Eliot and Wordsworth, but it might illuminate the difference between Pope and Wordsworth, where the percentages are so alike as to confuse rather than clarify.

As Miss Miles modestly admits in her concluding paragraph, "much more needs to be known . . . of the history of the vocabulary of emotion before Wordsworth and since" and of accompanying changes in general philosophy and esthetics. Perhaps Miss Miles, who is a poet in her own right, will some day explain why recent poets reject as "unpoetic" the named emotions which Wordsworth and his contemporaries accepted as the essence of poetry. Were men in 1800 so accustomed to deductive reasoning that, given the generalization (or named emotion), they were willing and able to deduce the particular "detail of sight and sound" which illustrated and supported it? Are men today willing to have the emotion left implicit in a collection of particular sensations because they prefer some inductive method? Why did Wordsworth want to guide his reader towards a specific emotion while recent poets sometimes seem careless about guiding or even assisting the reader? Why do recent poets apparently endeavor to create a particular experience rather than record a general one, to provide the matter of experience rather than the interpretation, to make the poem the object rather than the lens through which the object is seen?

These are large questions, which take us far beyond the vocabulary of emotion. But it was on this note that Miss Miles concluded: "Many other . . . problems must already have suggested themselves if this study has any good in it. . . ." There is much good in it.

The small notebook edited by Mr. Healey contains 24 pages of jotted names and addresses, occasional memoranda during 1839 and 1840, and six passages of verse totalling some 60 lines. Only the verse has value. Two related passages served as experimental drafts of the sonnet "Here, where, of havoc tired . . .," and suggest an earlier date of composition (c. 1840) than that usually assigned. Two passages of heroic couplets, never published in any form by Wordsworth, seem to be about a portrait, probably of Miss Fenwick. The fifth passage is a quatrain of no value. The sixth is the most important. It is a rough draft in Wordsworth's own handwriting of

lines 451-458 of Book VIII of *The Prelude*. Hitherto the lines in the 1850 edition had no manuscript authority, since even the copy used by the printer does not contain them.

The names, notes, and memoranda contribute little or nothing that is new. Indeed, Mr. Healey has to explain them by drawing upon material already in print. Inflating his significant material into a book by repetition of the familiar was unnecessarily pretentious and time-consuming. It is hard to believe that the "general reader," for whom the book was "especially designed," will be interested in the notebook's biographical trivia, while the scholar would have been better pleased with a solid article of moderate length.

R. E. WATTERS

*University of Washington*

*Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal."* BY JOHN ROBERT MOORE. Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series, No. 9, 1943. Pp. 87. 75 c<sup>nts</sup>.

This monograph is an addendum to Professor Moore's larger work, *Defoe in the Pillory and Other Studies* (1939). In summarizing the earlier work, Professor Ernest Bernbaum said concerning the discussion of *Robert Drury's Journal*, "More detailed accounts of the sources and comparison of them with the *Journal* would have been welcome." The present study is a direct reply to this, part of a polite conversation in print between a scholar and his critic.

His critic could not have laid down an assignment more suited to the talents of Professor Moore, who has extended Defoe bibliography already through identifications and the study of sources. Moving ahead from the position he established in 1939, that Defoe was the author of *Robert Drury's Journal* and of *The General History of the Pirates*, he shows here that the idea of *Drury's Journal* probably germinated from a newspaper item of 1705, that this was expanded through extensive use of Robert Knox's *Ceylon* (already known to us as a source of *Robinson Crusoe*), and that Defoe drew in various ways upon his own first-hand knowledge of Madagascar, some of which he had utilized before. It is gratifying to see that Professor Moore pays due regard to Defoe's knowledge of the world of men who really sailed ships, a fact that often seems overshadowed by the close examination in recent years of purely literary sources. Professor Moore reminds us that Defoe knew more of Madagascar than any other man of his time, and that he made more useful to himself, as it increased, this rich mine of fact and lore. It came to him from tavern and Thames-side, though no tall columns of parallel passages could ever prove it.

Among the literary sources, Robert Everard's *Relation of Three Years Sufferings . . . in the Year 1686* offers tempting similarities, but a definite conclusion that it was really a source is precluded by the fact that its first known appearance in print was not till 1732, at least three years after the composition of *Robert Drury's Journal*. Other still more slender sources were the *Atlas Geographus* and remoter printed works on which it in turn was based, especially that of the French writer Flacourt to whom Defoe was indebted for a map.

Professor Moore repeats, with some reinforcement, the idea that the Madagascar captivity of "Robert Drury" is but another Robinson Crusoe experience, another exhibition of Defoe's ability to visualize, to present a dramatic scene, and withal to adhere to and maintain an extraordinary sense of fact. With this study, Professor Moore adds to the already thick sheaf of painstakingly exhumed fact that he has laid before Defoe students. If it errs, it does so on the side of excess. Though one could pick at the isolation of phrases like "their boat was staved in pieces" (p. 57), which is still common parlance, it would be carping and should not be allowed to destroy the general impression, which is sound. If the pains be sometimes apparent, we shall not complain, because through this and similar researches the figure of Daniel Defoe is being finally re-drawn as one of the world's astonishing men, a genius who knew so much and wrote so realistically and so voluminously of the world of everyday affairs. The study would be much more useful if indexed.

WILLARD HALLAM BONNER

University of Buffalo

*A Comparison Between the Two Stages. A Late Restoration Book of the Theatre.* Edited with an Introduction and notes, by STARING B. WELLS. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xxi + 206. \$3.00.

Originally submitted as a doctoral dissertation in 1935, and now published as volume 26 in *Princeton Studies in English* after extensive revisions, this edition of a hitherto inaccessible pamphlet of 1702 is assured a hearty welcome by students of the Restoration stage. Mr. Wells has provided us with a brief but adequate introduction, an admirably readable reproduction of the text, and a generous and well-informed series of explanatory notes.

The two stages compared are those of Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields in the years following 1694. Ramble and Sullen, "two gentlemen," and Chagrin, "a Critick" (the distinction is not intentionally invidious), meet at various taverns on three successive occasions, and air the views of their anonymous creator on all subjects theatrical—from the alleged virginity of Mrs. Bracegirdle to the

dramatic talents of Mr. Steele, whose *Funeral, or Grief a la Mode* has just opened. On both questions, as on most others, the author is somewhat more than skeptical, and his determinedly witty carping becomes wearisome at times; yet, except for the supremely dull "examen" of the supremely unimportant *Generous Conqueror*, to which the conversation of the whole second meeting is devoted, the content of the dialogues is interesting. The author has little good to say of the plays produced either by the old actors under Betterton or by the young actors under Rich. The stage is in a sad state: drama is "made a Bawd to set off the musick" in operas; it is menaced by the infestation of foreign dancers and acrobats; it is cheapened by a host of petty playwrights, over a score of whose offerings are tallied and dismissed with the summary epithet "Damn'd." The items of gossip interspersed amidst these judgments are diverting: the case of the dramatist mulcted by the players and door-keepers of Drury Lane, the duel between the Iphigenia plays of Charles Boyer and of John Dennis, the burlesque prayers for succor to Shakespeare by Betterton, and to Jonson by Rich.

The most enlightening portions of the pamphlet are those in which the author deals with dramatists of standing: Southern is praised, Steele's literary failings are excused on personal grounds, Shadwell's comedies "are true Copies of Nature but generally low and awkward." Standing high above the rank and file are "Etheridge, Dryden, Wickerly, Otway, Congreve and Vanbrug." In commenting on this list, Mr. Wells remarks that his author's opinion is "not far removed from the judgment of posterity." Such, of course, is the case, but it might be added that the opinion was already a commonplace in 1702. Basically unoriginal, the author echoes the enlightened opinion of his day, and his essay was still-born, no doubt partially because its judgments were already stale. That such should be the case at a time when most of the authors concerned were still living should give pause to those literary historians whose faith is pinned on the sifting process of time.

It is no reflection upon the fine service that Mr. Wells has rendered to say that, as we read *A Comparison*, we think of another two stages waiting to be compared in another seven-year span, 1595-1602. It is precisely such an eager, gossipy, and conventional voice as that of this anonymous "critikin" which could have best told us those things we should most like to know.

ALFRED HARBAGE

University of Pennsylvania

## COMMENT

April 22, 1943

Professor George Wilbur Meyer  
English Department  
Cleveland College  
Western Reserve University  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Sir:

There are several matters in your review of my book in the March issue of *Modern Language Quarterly* which I do not understand. In order to clear these up will you kindly answer the questions set out below? I enclose a stamped and addressed envelope.

1. In what sense do you understand "Nature" in *Excursion* III, 458?
2. Will you indicate, by giving the first and last words, the precise sentence in which I scold Aldous Huxley for entertaining the idea that Wordsworth ignored the violence of nature?
3. Will you indicate, by giving the first and last words, the precise sentences in which I "suggest . . . that Books IX, X, and XI of *The Prelude* are irrelevant because they dealt with the French Revolution, which had only a negative influence on Wordsworth's poetry"?
4. Where do I say that *Excursion* IV, 1207-1229 "say(s) unqualifiedly that 'The love of daisies is . . . an infallible proof of virtue'"?
5. What are the title and first line of the verses "written by W. in 1794 and published in 1846 [*sic*], Professor De Selincourt, in a volume listed by the author in his 'Table of Sigla, Abbreviations, Etc.'"??
6. In what lines of this poem does Wordsworth "hear the music of humanity in fields and groves"?
7. By referring to these verses in this way instead of by title did you mean to imply that I was not familiar with them despite my listing the book in my "Table of Sigla"?
8. What evidence other than that presented on page 122 can you give for "the author's apparent indifference to Wordsworth's youthful work and to such matters as the French Revolution and the influence of books on the development of Wordsworth's thought in his formative years"?

Very truly yours,  
RAYMOND D. HAVENS

May 4, 1943

Professor Raymond Dexter Havens  
Department of English  
The Johns Hopkins University  
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Professor Havens:

As you know, I have received your letter of April 22 regarding my review of your *The Mind of a Poet* in the March issue of *Modern Language Quarterly*.

I very much regret that you cannot find in the review itself the answers to most of the questions you raise. Since I took the trouble to supplement my remarks with frequent references to specific pages in your book, your inability to account for my observations would seem to argue that my exposition was singularly obscure. This is disconcerting, for, obviously, if you cannot penetrate to its meaning, it would be foolish of me to expect greater understanding from readers who lack your knowledge of both Wordsworth and your book.

If this is the situation, I think that not only you but also the editors and the readers of *Modern Language Quarterly* are entitled to fuller information.

I suggest therefore that you forward to the editors of the *Quarterly* copies of your letter to me and of mine to you, with the request that they consider carefully any proposal for further discussion which you may submit to them. If they feel with you that the subject needs greater clarification, I shall not be reluctant to debate with you at whatever length you desire the questions you have already listed, and some others not yet raised.

Sincerely yours,  
GEORGE W. MEYER

May 26, 1943

The Editors  
*Modern Language Quarterly*  
Seattle, Washington

Gentlemen:

The March issue of your journal contained a review of my book, *The Mind of a Poet*, which attributed to Wordsworth opinions that I do not believe he held and to me assertions that I am not conscious of having made. Accordingly, I wrote to George Wilbur Meyer of Western Reserve University, whose name was signed to the review, asking him to explain the meaning of "Nature" in the passage he quoted, to give the first and last words of the sentence in which I had expressed the ideas he attributed to me, and to name the poem which he said I had overlooked. The essential parts of Mr. Meyer's reply are as follows:

I very much regret that you cannot find in the review itself the answers to most of the questions you raise. Since I took the trouble to supplement my remarks with frequent references to specific pages in your book, your inability to account for my observations would seem to argue that my exposition was singularly obscure. . . . I shall not be reluctant to debate with you at whatever length you desire the questions you have already listed, and some others not yet raised.

In support of his contention that it was not the sublime and terrible in the external world which impressed the adult Wordsworth most, Mr. Meyer quotes *Excursion*, III, 458, "Mutability is Nature's bane." But this passage has no bearing on the point in question since in it "Nature" means, not the external world but "the cosmic law or general scheme of things." Wordsworth's preference for the enduring in both the external and the internal worlds is noticed on pp. 2-3, 58, 104-6, 242, 263, 302-3, 411, 412, 551, 587 of my book. Mr. Meyer continues: "In his *Guide through the District of the Lakes* . . . [Wordsworth] objected to the Alps because they suggested havoc, ruin, encroachment, and decay. To the later Wordsworth the tranquil, not the terrible, was sublime." But if Mr. Meyer had continued to the end of the paragraph from which he quotes he would have read, "Nevertheless, I would relish to the utmost the demonstrations of every species of power at work to effect such changes" (*Prose Works*, ed. Grosart, II, 291). That is, Wordsworth says there are two kinds of sublimity, the terrifying and the tranquil, in both of which he delights. There is no evidence that he ever renounced his belief in the ministry of fear.

According to Mr. Meyer I "scold" Aldous Huxley for entertaining the "idea (p. 93)—that Wordsworth ignored the violence of nature." "The violence of nature" is not mentioned on page 93. Mr. Huxley's remark, "Normally what he [Wordsworth] does is to pump the dangerous Unknown out of Nature" is quoted with the following comment of my own: "The dangerous and the Unknown in Nature had for Wordsworth unusual attraction."



Mr. Meyer writes:

No one who has given his best thought to Wordsworth's French experience is likely to write on one page that Wordsworth's visit to France was "the most important event in his life . . ." (p. 452), only to suggest on another [apparently four other] that Books IX, X, and XI of *The Prelude* are irrelevant because they deal with the French Revolution, which had only a negative influence on Wordsworth's poetry (pp. 279, 289, 493-4).

True. But I never said or implied or for a moment believed that the French Revolution "had only a negative influence on Wordsworth's poetry." This should be clear from what is said on the last pages Mr. Meyer cites (493-4): "It was the French Revolution that made Wordsworth a great poet. . . . It was in reacting against the Revolution and the theorizing and over-intellectualizing engendered by it that he became a man and a poet." On the other pages to which Mr. Meyer refers I point out that the imagination is the theme of *The Prelude* and that the Revolution "greatly stimulated Wordsworth and probably assisted his imagination" but that he nowhere ascribes to the Revolution any part in his imaginative development.

"*The Excursion*, IV, 1207-1229," Mr. Meyer observes, ". . . does not say unqualifiedly that 'The love of daisies is . . . an infallible proof of virtue' (p. 103)." I did not claim that it does.

"Finally," in Mr. Meyer's words, "when the author asserts that . . . [Wordsworth] 'did not hear the music of humanity in fields and groves' before 1797 . . . the author ignores verses written by Wordsworth in 1794 and published in 1940 by Professor de Selincourt in a volume listed by the author in his 'Table of Sigla, Abbreviations, Etc.' (p. xi)." When I asked Mr. Meyer the name of the poem he had in mind he did not reply. When I asked him if, in using the elaborate circumlocution with its four "in's" instead of naming the poem, he meant to imply that I was not familiar with a volume which I gave the impression of having used, he again made no reply. Evidence that I had read the work in question with some care will be found on pages 342, 358, 414, 421, 456, 467, 581, 600 of *The Mind of a Poet*. It is hard to say what poem Mr. Meyer has in mind since none of the four which Professor de Selincourt somewhat doubtfully assigns to 1794 indicate any awareness of "the music of humanity in fields and groves." To be sure, there is the "Inscription for a Seat," which survives in two forms and which certainly reveals a sympathy with the unfortunate; but Wordsworth's strong humanitarianism is apparent in a number of his early poems, notably *Guilt and Sorrow*. If Mr. Meyer knows of any evidence which contradicts the assertion made in "Tintern Abbey" that it was not long before 1798 when Wordsworth first heard in external nature "the still, sad music of humanity," he should present it in less cloudy form.

Very truly yours,

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

July 20, 1943

The Editors  
*Modern Language Quarterly*  
Seattle, Washington

Gentlemen:

When I read Mr. Havens' *The Mind of a Poet* a year ago, I thought the book had certain faults. In my review I called attention to the author's vagueness of purpose, to his neglect of chronology and his failure to define the terms of his subject, and to various other details which made me believe that he had not studied Wordsworth's early work with his usual care.

Now Mr. Havens charges me with attributing to him words that he never consciously uttered. The merits of his protest must of course be judged by the reader from the evidence in the book and in the review. However, since Mr. Havens has twice invited further discussion of the matter—once, peremptorily, in a personal letter sent by registered mail with "Return Receipt Requested"; again, in a letter to the editors, from which he deletes a pertinent part of my original reply to him—I shall answer Mr. Havens' questions.

1. In *Excursion*, III, 458, I think Wordsworth made no distinction between nature and what Mr. Havens calls "the cosmic law or general scheme of things." Wordsworth meant that mutability is a law of nature. Wordsworth could not reconcile the unpleasant manifestations of this law with his earlier naturalism. Accordingly, he modified his philosophy and his aesthetics, and came to regard the tranquil, not the terrible, as sublime. Wordsworth's "belief in the ministry of fear" may have been uninterrupted. His belief in nature was also uninterrupted, but the nature of his belief changed. The point is that Wordsworth's mind developed. I find this fact generally ignored in Mr. Havens' book.

2. *Scold* may be too mild a word for what Mr. Havens does to Aldous Huxley. He interrupts and contradicts him six times on page 93. Twenty pages later he adopts his point of view.

3. I cannot describe with confidence Mr. Havens' position concerning the influence of the French Revolution on Wordsworth's poetry, and the relevance of Books IX, X, and XI of *The Prelude*. If Mr. Havens never believed that the influence was negative and the books irrelevant, I cannot explain his words on page 279 or those in his present letter: "[Since Wordsworth] seems never to have realized that it was his reaction from the effects of the Revolution that made him a great poet, he probably felt that in IX, X, and XI . . . he had disregarded his main theme . . ."; "It was in reacting against the Revolution . . . that he became a man and a poet"; "[Wordsworth] nowhere ascribes to the Revolution any part in his imaginative development." But, if Mr. Havens made these statements seriously, there is no accounting for his other remark, that "the Revolution 'greatly stimulated Wordsworth and probably assisted his imagination.'" In any case, this latter view is the sound one. To accept the other would be to conclude that Wordsworth was a novice, so ignorant of the fundamental principles of composition that he devoted a major part of his most ambitious poem to an alien subject.

4. Mr. Havens is right. He does not say, in so many words, that *Excursion*, IV, 1207-1229 says that "The love of daisies is . . . an infallible proof of virtue." I do not say, in so many words, that he does. But his meaning is clear, and so is mine.

5. There is a difference between the "music of humanity," referred to in Mr. Havens' book and my review, and the "still, sad music of humanity" in "Tintern Abbey," referred to in Mr. Havens' letter to the editors. Moreover, in my reference to *verses* written by Wordsworth in 1794 and first published in the De Selincourt volume of 1940, I mentioned no individual poem with a title. The lines in question were composed at Windy Brow for addition to *An Evening Walk*. Wordsworth decided not to add them. That is why they appear among the variant readings, in small print, on pages 10, 12-13 of the book mentioned above.

6. Did I mean to suggest that Mr. Havens "was not familiar with a volume which [he] gave the impression of having used . . . ?" No, I have never doubted that Mr. Havens read the book, as he puts it, with "some care." But there are various first-rate storms whistling through the poems contained in the volume, and on page 114 Mr. Havens admits that he recalls no descriptions of storms in Wordsworth's poetry.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE W. MEYER

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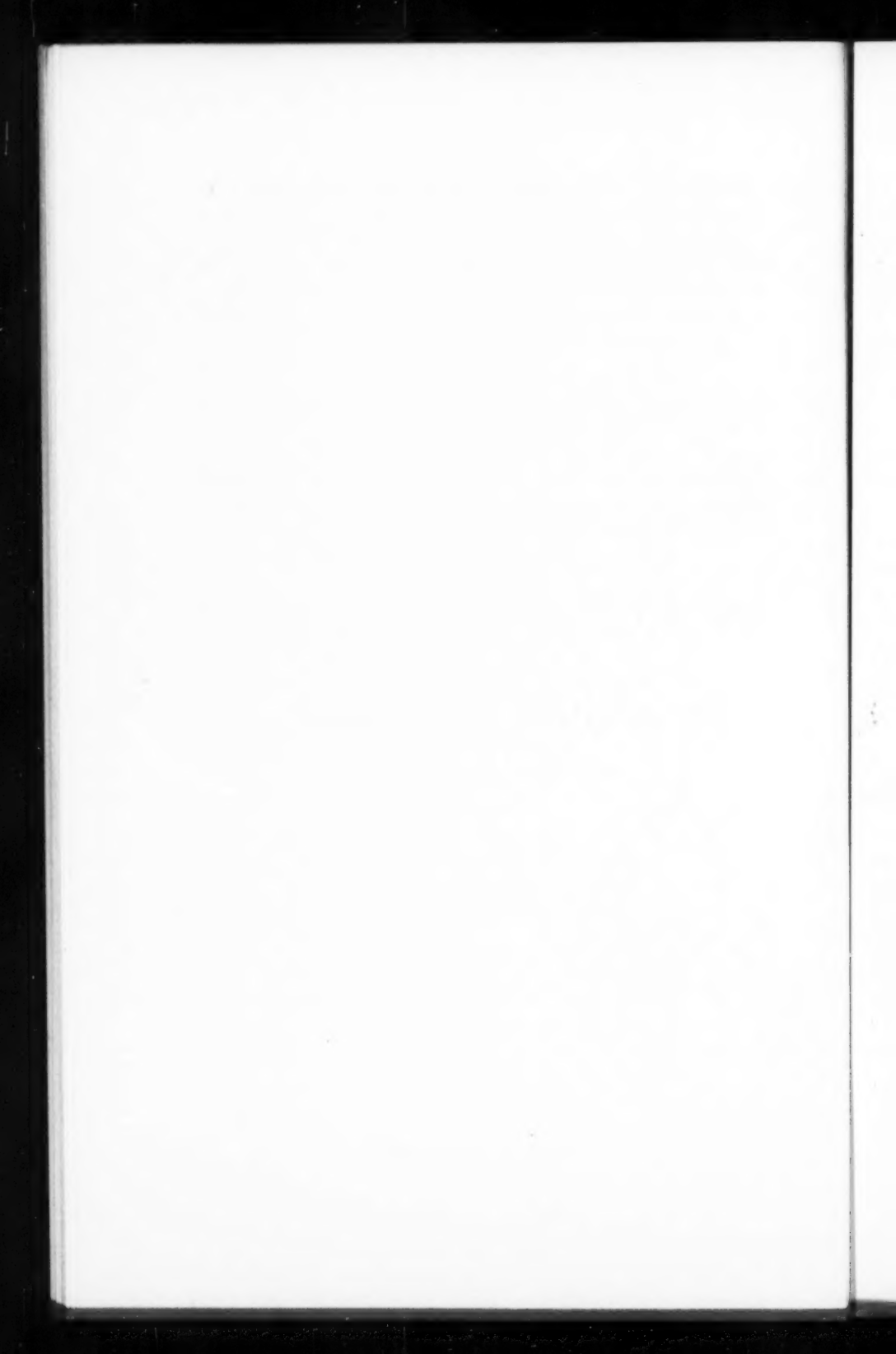
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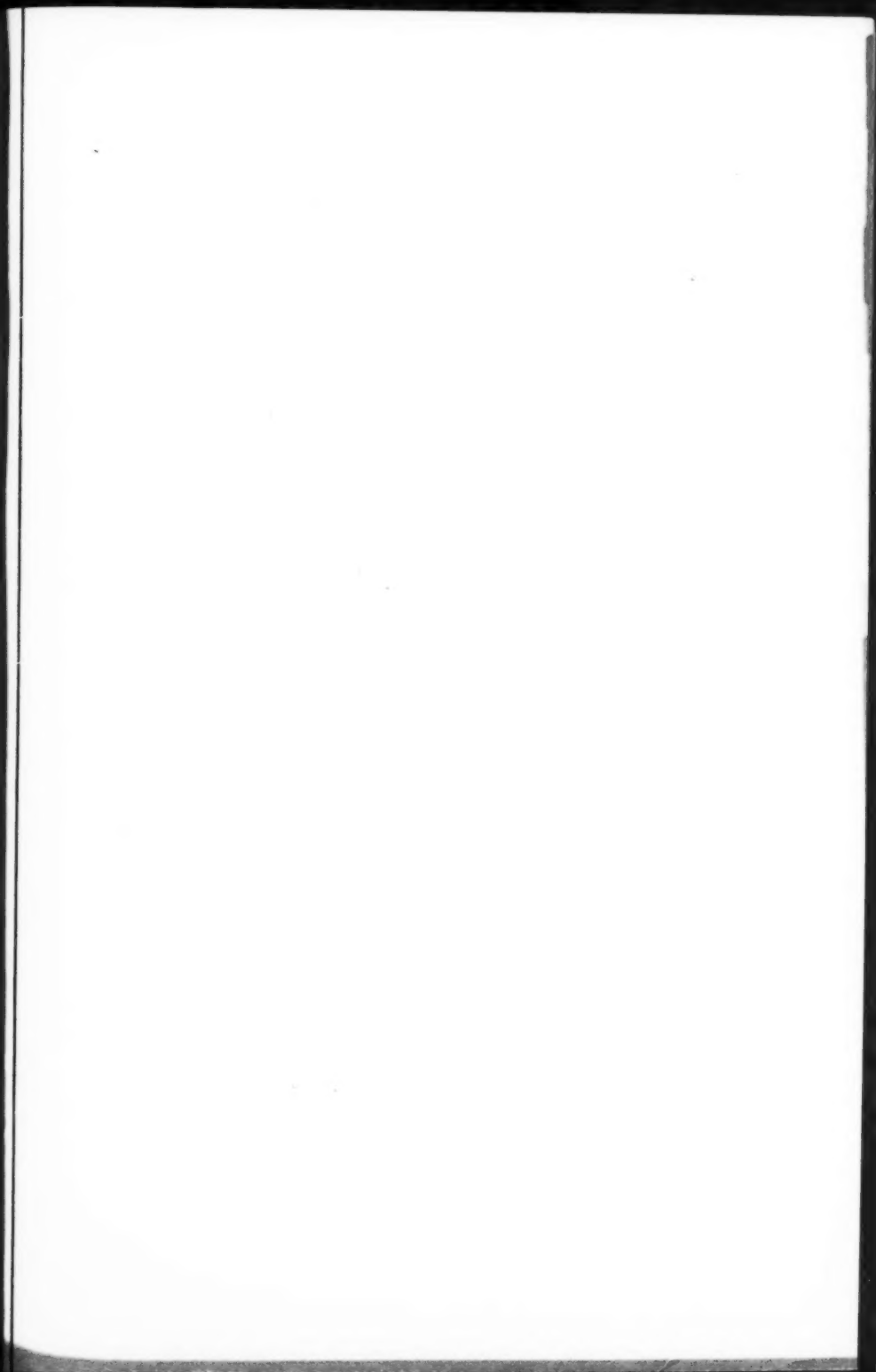
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